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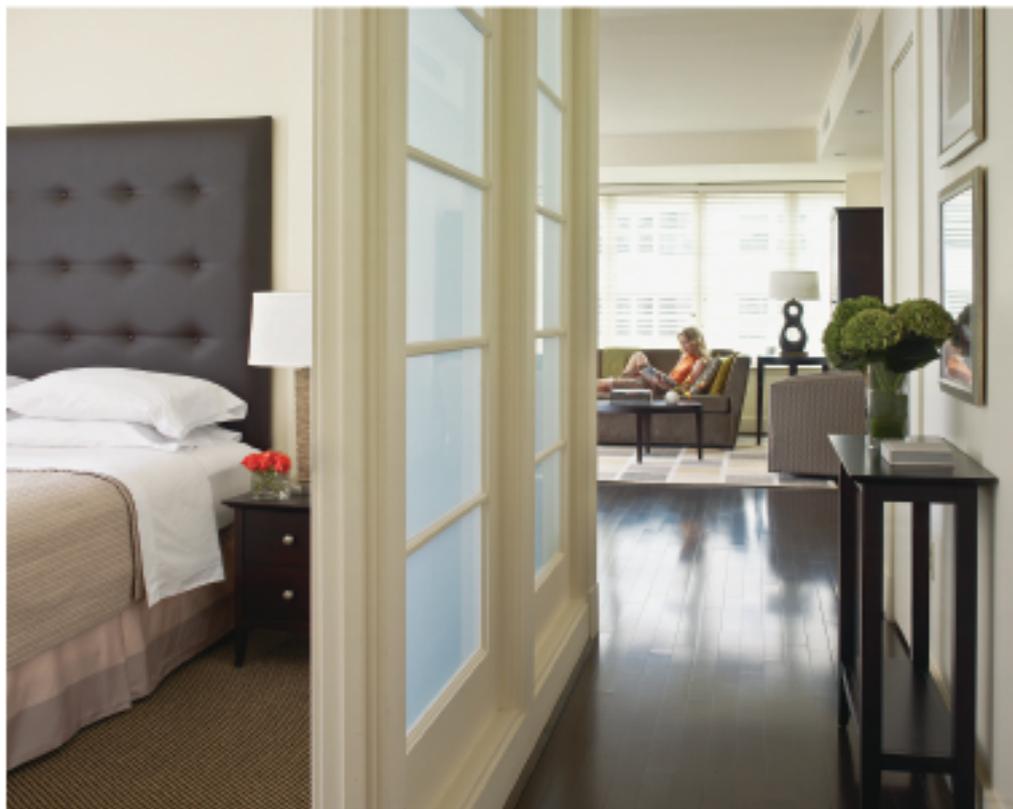
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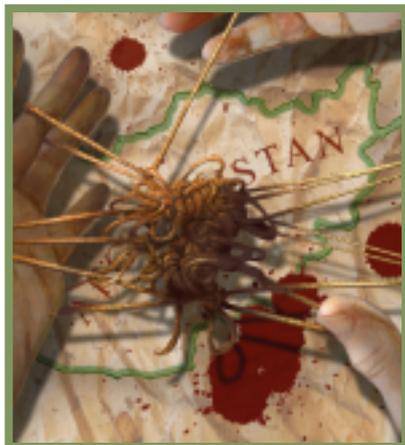
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Work Requirements

BY JOHN K. NALAND

The Secretary of State is the president's principal foreign policy adviser and is responsible for the formulation and execution of foreign policy. But does the description of duties for the position also include a requirement to act as the leader and manager of the State Department?



Two secretaries in recent decades definitely thought so. Among other achievements, George Shultz (1982-1989) invested much personal effort in securing funding to build the Foreign Service Institute's Arlington Hall campus and Colin Powell (2001-2005) devoted considerable time and attention to securing funding to increase Foreign Service staffing.

In contrast, others have not been known for paying attention to management issues. James Baker (1989-1992) opened over a dozen new embassies in the former Soviet Union without seeking additional staffing from Congress. Warren Christopher (1993-1997) and Madeleine Albright (1997-2001) presided over what is now universally seen as an ill-advised downsizing of diplomatic staffing that left a hollowed-out Foreign Service.

So the question remains: Is it possible for a Secretary of State to be deemed successful if he or she focuses on policy issues while mostly ignoring the leadership and management of the platform upon which diplomacy and

development assistance are conducted?

Of course, it is only fair to note that every secretary must delegate many management tasks. It is also true that no single individual has the ability to compel the White House and

Congress to provide the resources to meet the needs of diplomacy and development assistance.

Nonetheless, the position of Secretary of State is a uniquely powerful one from which to advocate for the department. When it comes to duties such as lobbying for resources and other management needs, there are some meetings, phone calls and letters that an agency head cannot delegate without significantly weakening their impact. Thus, a deficit of top-level advocacy can damage the long-term prospects for diplomatic engagement.

Diplomacy and development assistance can suffer if staffing is too small to accomplish the tasks demanded of it, if embassies and consulates lack adequate operating budgets, if Foreign Service members are unable to obtain needed training, and if the uniformed military ends up taking on civilian responsibilities for which it is ill-suited. They can also suffer if Foreign Service morale is eroded by growing financial disincentives and worsening conditions of service.

Thus, the answer to our question is clear: No Secretary of State can be judged to have been successful if he or she leaves behind a weakened diplomatic infrastructure as a result of having

dedicated inadequate time and energy to preserving and strengthening it.

History will inevitably judge the current and future holders of that position not only on their foreign policy accomplishments, but also on their leadership and management of the State Department. Therefore, even if administration is not their favorite activity, Secretaries of State must make it a daily priority. Those who do not will be judged negatively for that failure.

In the past, such judgments have come, but only in whispered hallway talk or in scholarly books published long after the official left office. In the future, however, those assessments will come more quickly and be more widely disseminated. Journalists are growing more savvy, paying attention not only to international negotiations but also to underlying issues, such as budget and staffing needs. Think-tanks and advocacy groups are starting to issue more pointed analyses of the management of diplomacy and development assistance. And employees are speaking out more, as evidenced in AFSA's continuing surveys of Foreign Service member views on key management issues.

So let the word go out that the work requirements for the Secretary of State position have been updated. Just as university presidents are no longer just scholars, but are also expected to be managers and fundraisers, Secretaries of State can no longer just be foreign policy experts, but must also come prepared to lead and manage. If they fail to do so, it will be noted. ■

John K. Naland is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.



LETTERS

Getting History Wrong

I was astonished to read in the May *Journal* that John Davies, John Vincent and my father, John Service, were Soviet agents. That dubious assertion is contained in a review of M. Stanton Evans' book, *Blacklisted by History: The Untold Story of Senator Joseph McCarthy and His Fight Against America's Enemies*. Evans is one of that very small group of die-hards who believe Chiang Kai-shek would have prevailed in China had it not been for the reporting and views of Foreign Service officers. However, not even Evans goes so far as to describe Davies, Vincent and Service as Soviet agents.

The reviewer, Bob McMahan, alludes to the "many closely held documents" that have become available over the past half century, suggesting by implication that we must now revise our views of both McCarthy and those who suffered under what came to be known as McCarthyism.

This is misleading. The so-called Venona decryption files of Soviet agents or sources, released in the 1990s, do not include the names of Davies, Vincent or Service. FBI files (which include disinformation from Chiang's secret police) were available to the State Department and to Senate investigating panels in 1950-1951. With respect to the FSOs victimized by McCarthy, Evans is rehashing old material.

Witch-hunting has occurred all too frequently in our history, hurting a lot of innocent people. But we eventual-

ly come to our senses and amends are sometimes made. AFSA did so in the case of the China hands at a luncheon at the State Department on Jan. 30, 1973. My father was invited to speak on behalf of the honored FSOs. Historian Barbara Tuchman was the other speaker and titled her remarks "Why Policymakers Do Not Listen."

After noting the high caliber of Foreign Service personnel reporting from China during the war (not limited to the three named above), she said: "The burden of their reports at the time, though not always explicit, was that Chiang Kai-shek was on the way out and the Communists on the way in and that American policy, rather than cling in paralyzed attachment to the former, might be well to take this trend into account."

The Foreign Service officers who knew most about China at that time were not listened to. The brief war-time effort to have contact with the Chinese Communists came to an end. Our relations were almost nonexistent for 25 years, which may well have contributed to our involvement in both the Korean and Vietnamese Wars.

We are not immune to future bouts of McCarthyism. In recounting the past, we ought to be very careful not to lose sight of the serious damage done to individuals and to our national interests by earlier outbreaks. The McMahan review and the Evans book are not helpful in that regard, to say the least.

Robert Service
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.

Smearing the China Hands

Bob McMahan's review of M. Stanton Evans' latest book, *Blacklisted by History*, employs smears worthy of Tail Gunner Joe himself. Yes, the USSR had well-placed spies and the threat of Soviet expansionism was very real, but the defense of McCarthy, who was censured by the U.S. Senate 67 to 22, is unmerited.

McMahan writes: "The Truman and Eisenhower administrations chose to attack [McCarthy] ... instead of removing communists from government positions." For information on Truman's efforts to confront global communism, McMahan should Google: Marshall Plan, Berlin Airlift, Truman Doctrine, containment, Korean War and, notably, Executive Order 9835, which ordered the FBI to investigate federal employees for subversion.

Was McCarthy "on the right track"? In a speech to a Republican group, McCarthy waved "a list of 205 ... members of the Communist Party ... working and shaping policy in the State Department." In a telegram to Truman, he said there were 57 "members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring" employed in the State Department. The number shifted to 81 during a Senate speech.

In response, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee conducted an investigation as to whether the State Department had employed "disloyal" persons. It determined that the individuals on McCarthy's list (the one with 81 names) were neither communist nor pro-communist, and that the



department had an effective security program. It labeled McCarthy's charges a "hoax and fraud."

McCarthy charged President Truman and the Democrats with "20 years of treason." He accused Secretary of State George Marshall of joining "a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous venture in the history of man." He called Secretary Dean Acheson "the Red Dean." And those were powerful men. Thousands of reputations and the financial security of many less prominent families were ruined by the unsubstantiated charges, bullying and, yes, blacklisting employed by McCarthy and his acolytes. Yet McMahan downplays these as merely "disagreeable tactics."

Truman rightly referred to McCarthy as "the best asset the Kremlin has." The McCarthyites blackened our name around the globe, giving aid and comfort to the enemy — while finding precious few real internal enemies.

Dana Deree

FSO

Consulate General Tijuana

Editor's Note: For more on the China hands and Joe McCarthy, see this month's FS Heritage column, "Grace Under Pressure: John Paton Davies" (p. 46).

Defending Us

Richard Hoover's letter in the May *FSJ*, "Defending the U.S.," asserts that "no U.S. diplomat worth his salt would permit an insult to his country to go unanswered." Who could disagree with that?

Well, in my last overseas assignment, Pakistan, and many other posts, if I had spent every waking hour of every day answering outrageous insults and uninformed diatribes, I would never have done anything else.

Further, some of our severest critics were those who were also admirers

of the U.S., but believed that U.S. foreign policy had gone wrong. Responding to those people in kind would have cut off any deeper communication. Some of them were open to a genuine dialogue but never had one with us, because the embassy considered them enemies.

Of course, unjustified attacks are infuriating and often must be answered quickly and forcefully. But we have to leave it to the people on the scene to make the call on whether to respond, and in what manner. I tried, not always successfully, to correct factual errors immediately and engage the critic in a deeper dialogue, through personal contact and USIS programs. But some critics are beyond the pale — real American-haters — and in those cases we have to contest the message and ignore the messenger.

Bill Lenderking

FSO, retired

Washington, D.C.

Cooperation for Africa

Congratulations on your May survey of the U.S. role in Africa over the past 50 years, especially the important articles by Hank Cohen and Bob Gribbin surveying the goals of U.S. policy during and after the Cold War and describing the envisaged role of AFRICOM.

Overall, the United States has indeed sought to help African post-colonial economic development, encourage democratic change and respond to humanitarian catastrophes. But Cohen's acknowledgment of our failure to prevent genocide in Rwanda and inability to do more to prevent genocide in Darfur, in part because of U.S. engagement in Iraq and Afghanistan, is an important reminder that Africa still remains a low priority.

I want to highlight two points not discussed sufficiently in these articles. First is the importance of working

closely with our European partners, especially the United Kingdom and France, as well as the European Union, to provide coordinated economic, political and security support to the African Union and regional economic communities (ECOWAS, SADC, etc.). We are long past the time of Franco-American or British-American rivalry in Africa, so U.S. programs such as ACRI, ACOTA and AFRICOM need to be closely integrated with parallel European efforts if they are to be useful. The absorptive capacity of African continental and regional organizations, and African states, is severely strained by our insistence that they deal bilaterally with separate U.S. programs and initiatives.

Second, a main goal of the African Union and African political and military leaders is the establishment of an African Standby Force by 2010. This may take somewhat longer, but planning is well advanced.

The ASF will consist of five regional brigades under the overall command of the African Union, and will be expected to deploy, perhaps in coordination with U.N. peacekeeping forces, to restore order and end the violence in the event of a regional or internal conflict.

AFRICOM should be structured to support this African-led effort, not only to deal bilaterally with favored countries. Such support would help greatly to reduce the suspicion and reservations prevalent today on the continent about our objectives.

Most importantly, it would contribute substantially to our stated goal of giving African political and military leaders the capacity to manage and resolve their conflicts more effectively than has been the case to date.

John L. Hirsch

Ambassador, retired

*International Peace Institute
New York, N.Y.*



Forgetting History

The April Cybernotes item, "Kosovo: A Risky Gambit," correctly cites the potential negative consequences of our support for Kosovo's independence. In addition to helping create those risks, U.S. policy failed to recognize that the history of Serbian-Albanian relations there did not begin with Milosevic's repression of the Albanian population in 1989.

The Albanization of Kosovo goes back to the "greater Albania" policy pursued by the Nazis during World War II, which led to significant movement of Albanians into Kosovo and forced emigration of Serbs.

From 1945 to 1980, Tito conducted a general anti-Serb policy that included turning the Kosovo/Metohiya autonomous area over to the local Albanian communists, who continued to encourage, less brutally than the Nazis to be sure, the departure of the Serbs. This explains why the Serbian population in Kosovo fell to less than 10 percent.

By ignoring that history, we fell into the error of believing that Serbia, because of Milosevic's crimes, had essentially no rights in Kosovo. Serbia's rejection of anything approaching the independence of Kosovo was totally predictable, as was Russia's readiness to veto any U.N. Security Council resolution to that effect.

*Thomas Niles
FSO, retired
Scarsdale, N.Y.*

Bearing Arms

AFSA has repeatedly made references to unarmed diplomats being sent to war zones, presumably a bad thing. Because the State Department is going to continue sending diplomats into harm's way, AFSA should call for letting them be voluntarily armed. While controversial (to utopians who do not believe in the right to self-defense), it would at least give our colleagues overseas a fighting chance in

case they were kidnapped by terrorists or criminals.

I cannot understand why otherwise intelligent people would be against this idea. After all, enshrined in the Second Amendment is the "right of the people to keep and bear arms."

When I joined the State Department, I understood there would be some restriction on my rights. Despite the First Amendment, I cannot publicly disagree with administration policy, but the department cannot totally prohibit me from expressing my opinions.

Before the regional security officer can search my sleeping quarters for illegal guns, he'll need a warrant. Or am I deprived of my Fourth Amendment rights, as well, when overseas?

In some places, like Jamaica for example, certain personnel can keep a firearm in their sleeping quarters. Why isn't the same true for those serving in active war zones?

Before diplomats deploy to places like Iraq and Afghanistan, they get firearms training along with combat lifesaver and Humvee rollover training. They should be allowed to keep and bear arms if they so choose; otherwise, the firearms training is worthless.

*John Higi
FSO
Embassy Kuwait*

The Ambassador and His Servants

My first post was Lagos in 1965. At that time, the Nigerian government was taking a hard look at embassy personnel's duty-free imports. The problem was quickly and amicably solved, but in the process I consulted the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, and then the 1815 Vienna Conventions, where reference was made to the ambassador "and his servants."

This seemed to refer to his retinue

and his domestic servants. Anyway, it was all academic, because the 1961 convention clarified the reciprocal rights that the Foreign Service lives under today.

American FS personnel representing their government in other countries are doing many of the same things they always did. Much of it is mundane and of no interest to our fans back home. Who is interested in postal rates, shipping, etc.? FS employees today are not servants, but they are doing jobs authorized and funded by the U.S. Congress.

This is why the notion of AFSA-recognized dissent draws outside criticism, as does outright vociferous refusal to accept a transfer to a dangerous post. I think much of the blame for the current problem lies in the whining, defensive attitude that some Foreign Service members have exhibited about these issues.

Recent well-written articles in the *Journal* have covered a wide range of problems. But despite this, there still seems to be a lack of awareness about the day-to-day mission of the Foreign Service.

To rectify this, I would like to propose the development of an AFSA Working Charter to refocus staff efforts and impress the U.S. Congress, the most important of all FS clientele. A charter could offer goals, reinforce good personnel policies and practices, and offer expert staffing advice to policy formulators. It could also help to define an ideal embassy for every situation.

Above all, a charter could outline the collective will of the membership of the Foreign Service.

Of course, such a document would not have legal or administrative status but would simply reflect the goals of AFSA.

*John Wellington Macdonald
USAID FSO, retired
Austin, Texas*

LETTERS

A New State?

In his March article titled "After the Surge," Keith Mines reviewed the four alternatives for dealing with the future of Iraq. But he overlooked what is probably the easiest and, indeed, most productive one: making Iraq the 51st state.

This would certainly be the solution to our oil problems, providing us with a permanent base in the Middle East, pleasing the neocons and giving both the Shiites and the Sunnis our "freedom of religion" umbrella.

*Max Fallek
Minneapolis, Minn.*

Donor-Funded Programs

Recently there have been several statements in the *Journal* and other media questioning the ability of cer-

tain countries to administer donor-funded programs. Countries typically cited with management deficits include such post-conflict entities such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Iraq and West Bank/Gaza.

These doubts puzzle me, because any country may retain private-sector specialists to meet these deficiencies. Contractors already administer such programs throughout the world, for example, in Dubai, Mexico, Singapore and South Africa. The key to successfully administering programs is to apply leadership and political will along with the funds.

When qualified personnel are not available locally, bringing in outside program managers is a reasonable, proven solution where resources exist. Otherwise, either donors need to

build up in-country capacity, or recipient countries need to find other sources of funding to bring in outside program managers until they have the capacity to manage the programs themselves.

*Barney P. Popkin
Environmental Protection
Specialist, USAID
Washington, D.C. ■*

CORRECTION

In the June issue, Belgrade should not have been listed in the box titled "Unaccompanied Posts as of March 2008" on p. 32. In addition, it is the capital of Serbia, not Yugoslavia as indicated there.

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CYBERNOTES

National Security Infrastructure: Due for an Update?

On April 18 the Congressional Research Service released its latest report on national security, "Organizing the U.S. Government for National Security: Overview of the Interagency Reform Debates" (www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34455.pdf). Senior officials in the executive branch, various think-tanks and members of Congress are among those calling for a significant restructuring of the American security model.

This group argues that today's 20th-century bureaucratic superstructure is

outdated, an "inadequate basis for protecting the nation from 21st-century security challenges." They cite the failures of coordination and implementation in Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom and the response to Hurricane Katrina. These shortcomings have had a serious effect on the results of those missions and on the reputation of the United States.

Both Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice have called for reforms. At an April 15 House Armed Services Committee hearing, Gates challenged the members to "think about how to

restructure the national security apparatus of the government for the long term."

Think-tanks that have joined this effort include the Project on National Security Reform (www.pnsr.org) and the Center for a New American Security (www.cnas.org). Both represent nonpartisan interest groups devoted to an overhaul of the current national security system.

The founder of PNSR, James Locher III, directed the development of the Goldwater-Nichols legislation in the 1980s. His organization's goal is to once more craft new legislation, this time in the form of a new National Security Act.

Meanwhile, on June 2, CNAS held a conference, "Pivot Point: New Directions for American Security," which focused on ways to address these challenges. An event transcript is available at www.cnas.org/june2008/.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Armed Services Committee are also part of this effort. The HASC has held a series of hearings on the issue, and, according to the CRS report, SFRC Chairman Joseph Biden "explicitly stated an interest in coming up with a '2009 National Security Act.'"

This would replace the National Security Act of 1947, designed to meet the specific needs of a post-World War II, the last major organizational reform in this realm.

Besides inadequate interagency coordination, criticisms of the current structure center on the imbalance between the Department of Defense and the State Department and other

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Ariana Austin, Editorial Intern



I think that a big problem the State Department has had both with respect to training and to planning is that the [Foreign] Service is too small to have a sizable enough float of people ... We have thousands of people involved in planning in DOD. And tens of thousands of people in training at any given time, in advanced training, not just basic training.

— Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, addressing the American Academy of Diplomacy, May 14, www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=4230.

foreign affairs agencies. The CRS report cites the claim of many that DOD is doing too much while State is doing too little, noting that often the latter has the authority while the former has the resources.

The process by which executive branch agencies and presidential advisers present and prioritize issues for presidential decision has also come under criticism.

Proposed reforms include creation of a body specifically devoted to inter-agency coordination of national security operations, one that includes a new position of “presidential adviser;” creation of a national security budget; reorganization of congressional oversight; and strengthening of the guidance of national security. One recommendation calls for the White House to coordinate missions, instructing the appropriate agencies with clear direction on roles, resources and responsibilities.

There seems little question that a change is in store, whether significant or slight. For as the CRS report notes,

“Almost entirely missing from the debates, to this point, are counter-arguments about the strengths of the status quo.”

— Ariana Austin, *Editorial Intern*

Terrorism in Decline, Says New Study

A report issued in May challenges the expert consensus that the threat of global terrorism is increasing. *The Human Security Brief 2007*, produced by a research team at Simon Fraser University’s School for International Studies in Vancouver, documents a sharp net decline in the incidence of terrorist violence around the world (www.humansecuritybrief.info/).

According to the report, fatalities from terrorism have declined by 40 percent, while the loose-knit terror network associated with Osama bin Laden’s al-Qaida has suffered a dramatic collapse in popular support in the Muslim world.

Further, there has been a positive, but largely unnoticed, change in sub-

50 Years Ago...

There never seems to be much trouble about getting appropriations for our military forces ... [Yet] when it comes to getting money to promote peace ... there is always a tough argument.

— U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge, quoted in the July 1958 *FSJ*.



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Saharan Africa, where the number of conflicts being waged fell by more than half between 1999 and 2006 and the combat toll dropped by 98 percent over the same period.

The study is the product of the Human Security Report Project, which in 2005 produced the respected *Human Security Report* (www.humansecurityreport.info/). The HSRP's research is supported by the governments of Canada, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the U.K.

— Susan Brady Maitra,
Senior Editor

Africa Progress Panel Tracks Promises

The world food crisis “threatens to destroy years, if not decades, of economic progress” in Africa, and the Group of Eight’s commitment to double aid to the continent by 2010 is seriously off-track. Those were among the main points of the Africa Progress Panel’s 2008 report, “Africa’s Development: Promises and Prospects,” released by panel chairman Kofi Annan in mid-June (www.africaprogresspanel.org/pdf/2008%20Report.pdf).

Despite progress on debt relief and significant increases in assistance by individual countries, the panel warns, the G-8 commitment is \$40 billion short of its target. In the report assessing the state of the continent in 2008, six policy areas are surveyed: the food crisis, aid levels and aid quality, trade, climate change, infrastructure and good governance.

The Africa Progress Panel was launched in April 2007 as a mechanism to hold world leaders to their commitments to Africa (www.africaprogresspanel.org/english/index.php). It is an independent and authoritative body whose members comprise a unique repository of expertise on Africa and development. In addition to Kofi Annan, the panel currently includes former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, former IMF Managing

Director Michel Camdessus, musician and Live Aid founder Bob Geldof, former Education Minister of Mozambique Graça Machel, former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, Nobel Prize winner and Grameen Bank founder Muhammad Yunus, among others.

— Susan Brady Maitra,
Senior Editor

Private Giving Rivals Official Aid

The “big story” of the recent tragic events in Myanmar and China is not limited to governmental response, according to Dr. Carol C. Adelman, director of the Center for Global Prosperity at the Hudson Institute (www.hudson.org). Rather it is about “how private citizens, companies, charities and religious organizations have emerged as a front-line force” (http://gpr.hudson.org/projects/articles/IHTop_ed6408Carol%20Adelman.pdf).

American corporations donated \$90 million in aid to China (compared to \$3.1 million by the U.S. government); in Myanmar, Americans donated \$30.1 million (U.S. government aid totaled \$24 million).

In fact, today, private financial flows from all donor nations — including philanthropy, investments and remittances — account for over 75 percent of the industrialized world’s economic dealings with poor countries.

In June, the Center for Global Prosperity released its second (and now annual) *Index of Global Philanthropy 2008* documenting this new philanthropic landscape (<http://gpr.hudson.org/>). “The traditional ‘donor-to-recipient’ model of foreign aid has been supplemented, if not supplanted, by public-private partnerships,” says Adelman. The new models are referred to as “social entrepreneurship,” “venture philanthropy,” or “creative capitalism.”

Significantly, private American philanthropy to poor countries, including remittances, dwarfs U.S. government foreign aid by more than four to one.

Another report, this one from the Conference Board (www.conference-board.org), argues for the new trend from the corporate perspective. “Corporate Responses to Humanitarian Disasters: The Mutual Benefits of Private-Humanitarian Cooperation” is available online at www.conference-board.ca/documents.asp?rnext=2554.

While the latest *Index of Global Philanthropy* lists traditional philanthropic organizations such as the Kellogg and the Aga Khan Foundations, many “new and unexpected players” are becoming significant — such as Inter Milan, the Italian soccer team, which has helped more than 12,000 children in 17 countries gain access to soccer training, education and health care.

Meanwhile, Internet giving or “e-philanthropy” has increased the ease and speed of donating. The I Do Foundation (www.idofoundation.org) encourages couples to link their wedding registries with their choice of charity. *Kiva* (www.kiva.org/), an online microfinance site, allows users to browse profiles of entrepreneurs in the developing world, lend them money and then track their progress.

The index also documents the estimated \$8.8 billion in international aid generated by American religious congregations, ranging from small church groups to larger organizations, such as the National Christian Foundation.

Indeed, the reports provide inspiring glimpses into the world of private giving and compelling arguments for its benefits. But they also seem to beg the question: why does government aid pale in comparison? And what are the implications of this for ongoing efforts to reorganize government assistance? ■

— Ariana Austin, Editorial Intern

A TIRELESS ADVOCATE FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE: THOMAS D. BOYATT

LAST MONTH AFSA RECOGNIZED THE RETIRED AMBASSADOR'S MANY CONTRIBUTIONS
TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND HIS LIFETIME OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

On June 19, Ambassador Thomas David Boyatt received the American Foreign Service Association's Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy, in recognition of a distinguished 26-year Foreign Service career and a lifetime of public service. Past recipients of the award include U. Alexis Johnson, Frank Carlucci, George H.W. Bush, Lawrence Eagleburger, Cyrus Vance, David Newsom, Lee Hamilton, Thomas Pickering, George Shultz, Richard Parker, Richard Lugar, Morton Abramowitz and Joan Clark.

Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 4, 1933, Thomas Boyatt received his B.A. from Princeton University in 1955, and an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University the following year. He then served in the U.S. Air Force from 1956 to 1959 before entering the Foreign Service.

Mr. Boyatt was posted first as vice consul in Antofagasta, Chile (1960-1962), then as assistant to the under secretary of the Treasury (1962-1964), economic officer in Luxembourg (1964-1966) and political counselor in Nicosia (1967-1970). In 1970 he returned to Washington to be special assistant to the assistant secretary of State for the Near East.

From 1971 to 1974, he was director of the Office of Cyprus Affairs. (During that period he also completed the State Department's 1972-1973 Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy.) In 1975 Mr. Boyatt became minister-counselor in Santiago, his second assignment to Chile, spending three years there. He then served as ambassador to Upper Volta

(now Burkina Faso) from 1978 to 1980, and was ambassador to Colombia from 1980 to 1983.

Amb. Boyatt was promoted to the personal rank of career minister before retiring from the Foreign Service in 1985. He was vice president of Sears World Trade, a partner in the IRC Group, and became president of U.S. Defense Systems in 1990.

The State Department conferred a Meritorious Honor Award on Amb. Boyatt in 1969 for his heroism during the hijacking of a TWA plane on which he was a passenger. The following year, he received AFSA's William R. Rivkin Award "for intellectual courage, creativity, disciplined dissent, and taking bureaucratic and physical risks for peace on Cyprus," and would also earn AFSA's Christian A. Herter Award for Constructive Dissent in 1975. In 1999 he was awarded the Foreign Service Cup for post-retirement contributions to the Service, and he received a lifetime achievement award from the American Foreign Service Association in 2001. Several foreign governments have also decorated him.

A former trustee of Princeton University, Amb. Boyatt has been a member of the advisory boards of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton and the Patterson School at the University of Kentucky. In addition to serving as a director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, he has taught for many years at the Foreign Service Institute.

Amb. Boyatt is the president and founder of the Foreign Affairs Council, an umbrella group composed of AFSA and 10 other organizations that support the Foreign Service. He is also active in the American Academy of Diplomacy, the

Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, and other organizations. A past president and treasurer of AFSA, he currently serves as treasurer of its political action committee, AFSA-PAC. He has also participated in numerous corporate and nonprofit boards, including the State Department's Leadership and Management Advisory Council.

He is married to Maxine Shearwood and they have five children.

Foreign Service Journal Editor Steve Honley interviewed Amb. Boyatt on April 21.

FSJ: *Congratulations on your award for lifetime contributions to American diplomacy. What would you say have been your main strengths as a diplomat?*

TDB: I would say that the thing that distinguished my career was that I was not like most diplomats. I spoke in the active voice, using short sentences to get to the point and take a stand. One of my Princeton friends called me the most undiplomatic person he had ever known.

FSJ: *Maybe that's a good lead-in to a discussion of your role in making AFSA what it is today: an organization that defends the importance of diplomacy and takes stands on behalf of its members. When did you first realize that there was a need for an advocate like AFSA to ensure that diplomacy functions effectively?*

TDB: Very good question. You have to go back to what the world was like when my generation came into the Foreign Service in the 1950s. We had observed that the China hands were decimated in the late 1940s during the administration of an arguably great president and a very decent man, Harry Truman. And then Eisenhower came in — another arguably great president and a decent man — and the Foreign Service was decimated all over again by McCarthyism.

**“We Young Turks’
decided to convert
AFSA into the vehicle
for self-defense.”**

— **Amb. Thomas Boyatt**

Since it was clear that we could not depend on our political masters to defend the Foreign Service when the going got tough, we “Young Turks” decided to convert AFSA into the vehicle for self-defense. We created an entire parallel universe in which we were still Foreign Service people but were not under the thumb of the State Department hierarchy. Because we were elected by our own people and made our own decisions, we would use AFSA to fight our own fights.

In a very real sense, my entire career has been devoted to defending that universe. When we say “Never again” to those who would destroy the Foreign Service, we can make it stick. But it takes political strength, financial strength and institutional strength to do that. It's taken 50 years, but AFSA now has all three elements.

FSJ: *Let's take each of those in turn. You were the driving force behind the establishment of AFSA's political action committee, AFSA-PAC, six years ago. I know you encountered a lot of resistance to that initiative; why did you feel so strongly it was the right thing to do?*

TDB: Because it makes eminent sense. My father taught me to play poker so long ago that I don't remember exactly when I learned. One of the things he taught me was: “Son, you've got to play the hand they deal

you.” And in the Foreign Service, in our governmental system, there is a certain way that you deal with Congress. There's nothing illegal or fattening about it: it's just the way it is. And we have as much right to petition the Congress as anyone else. We need to do it in the way Capitol Hill understands, which is to be part of the solution, not part of the problem.

FSJ: *Have you been satisfied with the amount of influence AFSA has gained with key players on the Hill on both sides of the aisle thus far?*

TDB: There's still much to do, of course, but we've made a lot of progress in just a few years. Before we set up the political action committee, AFSA dealt almost exclusively with legislative staffers. There were a few exceptions, such as Sen. Claiborne Pell and a few other long-time friends of the Foreign Service. But on a regular daily basis, we didn't have access to key members. Now, the president of AFSA routinely sees committee chairmen. The fact that AFSA-PAC's bylaws stipulate that contributions must go equally to key members from both parties has helped a lot in giving us credibility.

FSJ: *What would you say to any AFSA members reading this interview who have been reluctant to make a contribution to the PAC because they don't think it would make a difference, or because they believe it makes us look like money-grubbers who are only interested in overseas comparability pay?*

TDB: I would respectfully ask them to help us help the Foreign Service by contributing. If they have concerns about their funds being spent well, let me assure them that we comply with all the rules and regulations of the Federal Election Commission, just like any other political action committee.

As for effectiveness, in just six



Ambassador Thomas Boyatt.

years AFSA-PAC has made a real, tangible difference in our ability to promote our legislative agenda. We played a role in winning support for the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative, which substantially increased resources

for the State Department. And we've played a very big part in the fight for overseas comparability pay, a battle we're still fighting.

Two other points: AFSA-PAC's impact is cumulative over time. You have to be patient and keep working at it. We have a good case to make to Congress, both on resources and on overseas comparability pay, and I am confident that sooner or later, we're going to get over the hurdles.

FSJ: *You also cited financial strength. As a past AFSA president and treasurer, and a current member of the Finances and Audit Committee, talk a bit about the organization's progress since it became a union in 1973.*

TDB: When AFSA became a

union 35 years ago, our audit fit on a single page. Our staff was one officer and two others, and most of the work was done by volunteers. Obviously, we've grown in every sense. We now have a large staff and a \$3.5 million operation. But all of these changes happened more quickly than AFSA developed the ability to cope with them in a professional way.

After I retired from the Foreign Service in 1985, I spent several years in the private sector. When Tex Harris asked me to become treasurer in 1995, I saw an opportunity to put into practice the financial lessons I had learned.

At the time, AFSA had less than \$2 million in the scholarship fund, no reserve fund, and neither organization nor discipline in its financial management. Today we have over \$6 million in the scholarship fund, \$2 million in the reserve fund, an annual



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budget of \$3.5 million, and a professional budget process.

AFSA is now the equivalent of a mid-size company. And that requires us to be serious about managing our finances so that we don't do silly things with our members' dues and contributions. Our Finances and Audit Committee has a mix of members with private sector and NGO experience who know what they're talking about. The committee is independent, making decisions about investments and expenditures on their merits, without being influenced by the fads of the moment or the enthusiasms of AFSA officers. As a result, our financial portfolio has taken off and we're in good shape.

FSJ: *The third element you identified as key to success is institutional strength. What do you mean by that?*

TDB: The first element of institutional strength is unity. AFSA and 10 other organizations are all together in the Foreign Affairs Council. Second is money: You can't do anything without money and committed people, and we have both. And third, which has been very important, of course, was AFSA's becoming the legally recognized exclusive employee representative for Foreign Service personnel. That was the basis for everything.

FSJ: *That's a good segue for us to talk a bit more about the "Young Turks" movement you helped lead. Our June 2003 issue celebrating the 30th anniversary of AFSA's becoming a union, to which you contributed an article, gives a lot of the historical details. But to set the stage, would it be fair to say that AFSA was more a social club than an advocacy group at that time?*

TDB: Yes, but the real problem was that the same people who had the senior positions in the State Department — the under secretary for political affairs, the director general, many

***“Forming a union was
the only way to gain
some degree of control
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transparency to the
whole process.”***

of the assistant secretaries and so on — were also officers in AFSA. That struck many of us as a huge conflict of interest, when what we needed was an independent voice.

Each of the Young Turks had something they wanted: Tex Harris wanted a grievance system; Charlie Bray wanted a linkage of resources to policy; and I wanted co-determination of personnel policies and procedures. We had these very discrete elements of change, but when you put them all together, they added up to more than the sum of the parts. And so the question was, how do you get that? You have to have a base, and the only base we saw was AFSA.

When the time came to elect the new AFSA Governing Board, we realized that there are more mid-level and junior officers than seniors, so we could win an election. We put up a slate and we won (with some support from senior officers, I should add). That gave us an organizational base of people paying dues, and a magazine with which you're familiar that allowed us to do outreach — a propaganda arm, if you will.

That happened in the late 1960s. Then, very early in the 1970s, President Nixon signed the executive order bringing white-collar unions

into the Civil Service. There was a big fight over what the structure of that would be, which we won. Then we got a showing of interest and we persuaded the Foreign Service itself that we had to unionize — even though that was a dirty word for a lot of people. But we made the argument that forming a union was the only way to gain some degree of control over our destiny, and bring equity and transparency to the whole process.

We won the internal struggle for the soul of the Service, and then beat the American Federation of Government Employees in elections to become the exclusive employee representative for the people of the Foreign Service in 1973 — not just at State but at USAID and all the other foreign affairs agencies. And we developed huge momentum that is still growing.

FSJ: *Let's talk about your Foreign Service career now. You entered the Service in 1959, right after three years in the Air Force. What drew you to pursue a diplomatic career?*

TDB: I had an epiphany during my studies at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton. In that program, you participate in a policy conference every semester. In the spring policy conference of my junior year, in 1953, the subject was Puerto Rico and the focus was economic development. For the first time in its history, Princeton kicked in airline tickets for the conference participants to travel there and see for themselves how economic development was being achieved on that small island. My fellow travelers to Puerto Rico included Ralph Nader, by the way.

Inspired by the brio of all that, I decided then and there that I wanted to be in the Foreign Service, and I switched from the domestic to the international side of the Wilson School. I went on to the international affairs graduate school at Fletcher,

then took the Foreign Service exam and passed it. In fact, I did that before I joined the Air Force in 1956.

FSJ: *Was that a difficult transition in any way?*

TDB: No, I really enjoyed my time with the military. In those days, of course, everyone served, one way or another, so I knew what I was going to be when I grew up. I learned that military power is obviously relevant to diplomacy, and the military was a bureaucracy just like ours. So it was good preparation for the Foreign Service. I'd estimate that 95 percent of the guys in my A-100 class — and they were all guys, except for one lady who subsequently resigned — came in out of the military.

FSJ: *Your first posting was as a vice consul in Antofagasta, Chile, from 1959 to 1962. I assume that*

was a small consulate?

TDB: Yes, I was the number-two guy in a two-man post. The consul went away and never came back, so I wound up being the principal U.S. diplomatic officer in the northern third of Chile — three huge provinces — my consular district. Because I was the senior American, I got invited to everything, all the receptions, and met all the local VIPs, including Senators Salvador Allende and Eduardo Frei.

Then a new lieutenant colonel came to town to command the "Septimo de la Linia" (Seventh of the Line): the infantry regiment that basically conquered Bolivia and Peru in the 1879 War of the Pacific. The Chilean Army always sent a real up-and-comer to serve as commander of that regiment, and this time was no exception: His name was Augusto Pinochet.

So as a 20-something JO, I got to

know the next three presidents of Chile. First Frei, a Christian Democrat, who served as president from 1964 to 1970. Then came Allende, a Socialist, followed by Pinochet. I knew them all personally. Allende was a notorious boozier and skirt-chaser and, accordingly, was very good company. He was a bon vivant, while Frei was very stern, proper and Swiss, and Pinochet was very quiet, almost timid.

FSJ: *You returned to Chile in the mid-1970s to serve as deputy chief of mission, not long after Pinochet came to power. What were your impressions of the changes in Chilean society over that period?*

TDB: Pinochet remembered our times in Antofagasta and I received special attention. That was sometimes awkward but always useful. Throughout my three years in Santiago, I kept trying to persuade

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Pinochet to form a political party and stand for election as president. And to this day, I still think he would have won, because his economic reforms were so powerful and so successful. After all, when he did finally allow a plebiscite in 1988, after 15 years of dictatorship, he got 44 percent of the vote. Furthermore, the economic reforms he instituted have never been challenged, either by the Christian Democrats or the Socialists, to this day. And Chile is by far the most advanced country in Latin America.

FSJ: *Cyprus has also figured prominently in your Foreign Service career. From 1967 to 1970 you served as political counselor in Nicosia, and you were director of Cypriot affairs from 1971 to 1974. Was this a case of a country you were already fascinated with, or did you come to feel that way once you served there?*

TDB: I volunteered for hard-language training in the mid-1960s, and took Greek. After that, I knew I was either going to Cyprus or Greece, so I read a lot about both. And what's not to love about Cyprus? Beautiful place, great people, wonderful food and drink, Cypriot dancing, and a complicated and challenging problem.



Amb. Boyatt, center in coat and tie, with members of Embassy Ouagadougou's softball team, "Sahel's Angels."

FSJ: *You received AFSA's Christian A. Herter Award for constructive dissent by a mid-level FSO in 1975. That was about U.S. policy toward Cyprus, correct?*

TDB: Yes, it came out of recommendations I made in 1974, when I was head of the Cyprus office. I believed the evidence indicated that the Greek junta was backing a coup by the Cypriots favoring a union with Greece against President Makarios, with the intention of annexing the island to Greece. I warned my superiors — eventually including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger — that

if such a coup went forward, the Turks would seize that pretext to invade. The Greeks would not be able to stop them and the two forces would divide the island, leaving a bone in our throat for as far ahead as one could see. Therefore, we had to use our influence to stop the Greeks.

Unfortunately, Kissinger didn't see it that way. The U.S. government did not do what was necessary to stop the junta. If we had prevented the coup, we wouldn't have had the refugees, the rapes, the torture, the killing, the disaster that flowed after the Turks did invade. And our ambassador in Nicosia, Roger Davies, probably would have died a natural death instead of being assassinated.

FSJ: *You were also one of the first recipients of AFSA's William R. Rivkin Award "for intellectual courage, creativity, disciplined dissent and taking bureaucratic and physical risks for peace," receiving it in 1970. What was the basis for that award?*

TDB: It was mainly in recognition of my role in dealing with the 1969 hijacking of a TWA 707 on which I was a passenger. We had taken off from Dulles, bound for Tel Aviv. Somewhere between Rome and Athens, a group of Palestinian terrorists seized the plane. After several



Amb. Boyatt with Secretary of State George Shultz, back left, accompanying President Ronald Reagan in Bogota.

hours, we made a forced landing in Damascus, where the hijackers said they would blow up the aircraft 60 seconds after landing.

There were some 175 passengers on board, about half of whom were Americans, I would guess. But the even bigger concern was that many of them were Jewish, something I didn't really concentrate on until right before our forced landing. Remember, this was just two years after the Six Days War, and Syria and Israel were still at war; there was only an armistice. And we had no diplomatic relations with Syria, no embassy on the ground.

As we approached the ground, I stationed myself at the rear door to help get people off the plane. Though it was not exactly a crash, the pilot had never seen the airport before so it was a pretty rough landing. We were all in our stocking feet because the cabin

crew had collected all our shoes as part of the emergency procedure. (If you leave your shoes on, as soon as you hit the ground they go shooting forward at the speed of the plane, along with pencils and everything else, becoming projectiles.)

When the back door of the plane opened, it turned out we were in the middle of a prickly-pear field! People were falling down and screaming while frantically moving away from the plane, so it was a real mess. When most passengers were safely across the field, I noticed three passengers still under the port wing. One woman was in really bad shape, with compound fractures to her left leg.

There was an American G.I. among the passengers and the two of us crossed the field together to carry the wounded to safety. It was very frightening, as the clock was ticking — well past the 60 seconds. The plane could

have blown up any moment. We were very lucky. Just as the five of us regained the trench where the rest of the group was huddled, the front half of the plane exploded.

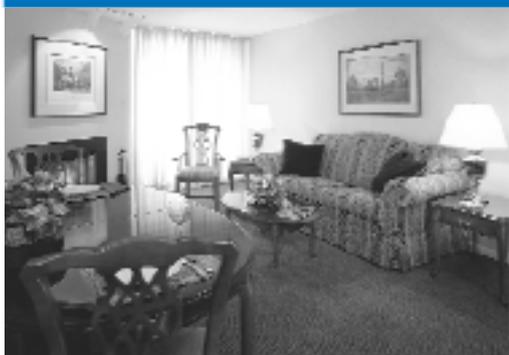
FSJ: So you saved a lot of lives that day.

TDB: No question about it. We could either have been blown to pieces or incinerated in the fireball. It was a close-run thing.

But there was still a big problem. An American aircraft with many Jewish passengers had landed in Damascus. To protect the innocent, I needed to establish some authority and then play for time. So I walked up to the fellow who seemed to be in charge, identified myself and showed him my U.S. diplomatic passport. I informed him that everyone on that plane was under the protection of the United States because the hijacked

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aircraft was an American flag carrier.

Then I noted that I was an American diplomatic official and declared that the passengers could not be interrogated without my permission. He said, "Oui, Monsieur Secretaire," and rushed off to telephone his superiors. I took that as a good sign and, sure enough, after some more phone calls and a day and a half of confusion, everyone got out in one piece.

FSJ: *Your first ambassadorship was to Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso (1978-1980), followed by Colombia (1980-1983). What were some of the challenges you faced as chief of mission in each country, and how did you handle them?*

TDB: The main reason we had an embassy in Ouagadougou was economic development. At that time, 30 years ago now, the Sahara Desert was moving south, so USAID had an \$18 million development program in this tiny country to help the government cope. We must have had 15 USAID officers there. Being an activist and a believer in ambassadorial authority, I duly asserted my authority over the mission. There was a certain amount of friction at first, mainly because they'd never had an ambassador who took that view, but we got that worked out. And I learned a lot about economic development in the process.

Keeping morale high was another priority, of course. We had a theater group, the "Way Off Broadway Players," and a softball team called "Sahel's Angels," among other things. Every weekend we could, the team would go play our counterparts in Niamey or Bamako or Dakar, which was great for us because it was R&R. We'd play two games on Saturday and two on Sunday, with parties Friday night and Saturday night. It was just fun.

FSJ: *Bogota was a much more demanding posting, I imagine.*

***"Being an activist
and a believer in
ambassadorial authority,
I duly asserted my
authority over
the mission."***

TDB: The drug problem was the main challenge there, of course. In fact, we were one of the first embassies to have a huge influx of FBI and DEA agents, who were making cases in Colombia to try to head off drug trafficking at the source. I didn't just coordinate all these agencies, either — I tried to direct them. As you know, when you're ambassador, you represent the president, not just the State Department.

And, of course, just surviving the multiple death threats was a challenge. Bogota was a very violent place at that time, so I had my own little army of bodyguards on top of embassy security. My car was armored, and I always traveled with an armored lead car and follow-on vehicle. I had an armed guard with me at all times, and I was armed. The last line of defense was me! So I practiced with a .38, an Uzi and a 12-gauge shotgun.

Keep in mind that my predecessor, Diego Ascencio, had been at an embassy reception when the M-19 took it over. So he, in effect, had been taken hostage. My security officer had been the security officer when that happened, and before that was in Kabul when Adolph "Spike" Dubbs was assassinated while serving as U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan in 1979. So when he was introduced to me, he grabbed me by the lapels and

exclaimed, "Sir, I'm not going to lose you!" And he meant it.

FSJ: *Fortunately, he lived up to his word!*

TDB: Yes, he did. I felt sorry for him because he'd had a really traumatic career, but he was a really good guy.

FSJ: *As a former ambassador to Bogota, what do you think about the current difficulties of winning congressional approval for the U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement?*

TDB: It's very sad. First of all, President Alvaro Uribe is doing a great job for his country, both in terms of reducing crime and helping the economy, for which he's enormously popular, with something like a 75-percent approval rating among Colombians. Second, if anything, the agreement is more in our interest than theirs from a commercial point of view. Colombia already has duty-free entry to the U.S. for its goods, so what this would do is give our businesses access to its market.

It's just crazy what we're doing — it's all about trade-union symbolism, not economic factors or sensible diplomatic reasons. Colombia has done everything right, on the human rights front, the economic front and the political front, so we should be encouraging them, not punishing them.

FSJ: *In 1983 you were promoted to the personal rank of career minister before retiring from the Service. Tell us about the transition to post-Foreign Service life.*

TDB: I think the most important thing for retiring Foreign Service personnel to realize is that entering the business world is like being assigned to a new foreign country. The business world has its own way of looking at things, its own objectives, language, traditions and so forth. If you keep

that in mind, it makes the transition a lot easier.

Of course, the basis is totally different. The private sector is very objective: You either make a profit or you don't. The way of keeping score is not an efficiency report but the bottom line. So people coming into that world from the government have to adapt their skills and talents to fit those requirements, not the other way around.

FSJ: In 1995 you founded the Foreign Affairs Council, comprised of the CEOs of 11 foreign relations advocacy organizations, including AFSA. How did that come about?

TDB: It came about because I'd already held senior positions in about half of those organizations: AFSA, of course; the Cox Foundation; the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training; and Diplomatic and Consu-

lar Officers, Retired. And I was a member of most of the rest, such as the American Academy of Diplomacy.

One day a light went on and I thought: All of these organizations address the process of diplomacy and are concerned with the people who carry it out, the Foreign Service. What we really need to do is get our forces all under one roof to make our efforts more powerful and persuasive, and make it that much easier for us to deal with the rest of the world. And because the groups don't take positions on foreign policy, there wouldn't be any divisions among us along those lines.

And so we started doing that. We traded information among our 11 organizations about what each group was doing and pursued serious cooperation. And beginning with Colin Powell, we've been making the case that the Foreign Affairs Council could

be a formidable force multiplier for the State Department, interacting with the political system at the very highest levels.

FSJ: What would you say have been the council's chief successes?

TDB: We helped promote the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative and other steps to address the Foreign Service's resource problems. We also defended the Foreign Service against critics like Newt Gingrich. When he wrote an article for *Foreign Policy* magazine denouncing the Service several years ago, we responded in those pages. When he gave an interview to National Public Radio, we got our views aired there. And when he went to the Hill, we went to the Hill.

Beginning in 2001, as Colin Powell took office, the Foreign Affairs Council started issuing a biennial report card assessing each Secretary

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of State's attention to management and leadership issues. Our fourth report is now in the works, which will cover Condoleezza Rice's final two years. Before we started doing that, no one was drawing public attention to how the State Department was carrying out its responsibility to manage its human and financial resources. But now people are focusing on that and holding State's leadership accountable.

FSJ: *You are currently chairman of a project to develop a zero-based budget for the 150 Account, which encompasses federal funding for State, the Foreign Service and foreign assistance agencies. What was the genesis of that?*

TDB: The Diplomatic Readiness Initiative brought some 1,000 people into the ranks during President Bush's first term. But then the demands of staffing Afghanistan and Iraq absorbed these people. We're back to the major staffing shortfalls of the 1990s.

In one of our meetings about that problem, a senior person on the Hill made the point that the traditional incremental approach of adding a few bodies and dollars doesn't work — you have to build the structure around the needs.

That made sense, so we sought and received from the Cox Foundation a \$500,000 grant to come up with a comprehensive budget proposal that would do just that. The Stimson Center is doing the research and drafting under the leadership of an advisory group and with the input of a Red Team, both of which are largely staffed by American Academy of Diplomacy members.

We intend to have that proposal ready this fall and will launch a major effort to persuade the new Secretary of State to adopt it early next year. We'll make the argument that we must roll back the increasing "militarization" of diplomacy, particularly in public diplomacy and development.

***“Only three Secretaries
of State since World
War II have had the
aptitude and an interest
in managing the
department.”***

Furthermore, we will argue that no administration can have an effective foreign policy without the professionals in the field to carry it out. And we'll also be on the Hill promoting the concept.

FSJ: *That will be the Fiscal Year 2010 budget, right?*

TDB: Right, but we're also working on getting more resources into the FY 2009 foreign affairs budget. Defense Secretary Robert Gates has been a big ally in this effort, making the case that this isn't just something a few self-absorbed diplomats are concerned about. The consequences of weakening the Foreign Service through these systemic shortages affect the whole national security structure, including the military. So I believe we're gaining traction.

FSJ: *What qualities do you think are most important for a Secretary of State to have?*

TDB: A talent for management is crucial but all too rare; I'd say only three secretaries since World War II have had the aptitude and an interest in managing the department. That may be because Secretaries of State have been lawyers or academicians, with the occasional senator thrown in. All of these professions are filled with sole practitioners, who tend to be

management-challenged, to put it mildly.

And of course, it's also important for a Secretary of State to have experience, flexibility, tolerance for diversity, and intellectual acuity.

FSJ: *Which holders of that position in recent years would you say were most successful overall?*

TDB: In terms of caring for the troops, acquiring resources and general management, George Marshall, George Shultz and Colin Powell have been the most successful.

FSJ: *Are you optimistic about the future of the diplomatic profession?*

TDB: Yes, thanks to the parallel universe I've alluded to: AFSA, the Foreign Affairs Council, etc. Again, the key is that over the years, we've built up our own leadership structure and public affairs capability. That lets us speak out independently to reinforce State's formal advocacy efforts for adequate resources.

FSJ: *So do you recommend the Foreign Service as a career to young people?*

TDB: Yes, all the time. For instance, as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow, I teach at small liberal arts colleges around the country twice a year, and I also promote the Foreign Service. But I recommend it as a career not because of bureaucratic success, but as a wonderful life. As I tell people: If you're interested in foreign countries, would welcome a change of venue every three years, and are interested in serving the nation and having wonderful colleagues, it is the life for you.

FSJ: *Any final thoughts?*

TDB: I would like every FSO to have a career as fun and rewarding as mine has been.

FSJ: *Thank you very much. ■*

SALVAGING THE AFGHANISTAN VENTURE



Nenad Jaksevic

O TO RECOVER ITS INVESTMENT IN STABILIZING AFGHANISTAN, WASHINGTON MUST FOCUS ON FOSTERING EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE.

By EDMUND MCWILLIAMS

One of the poorest countries in the world outside sub-Saharan Africa, Afghanistan is a failing state, though not yet a failed one. Nearly seven years after the U.S. military intervention to topple the Taliban regime and eliminate the al-Qaida terrorist network for which it provided a safe haven, Afghanistan is still enmeshed in a nightmare with no end in sight. The fragility of its political system and weakness of its economic structures render it especially vulnerable to dire trends in the international market, such as the rising cost of food and fuel.

In recent months, the growing security threat in the country has prompted alarm. During a visit this past spring, the chief of the International Committee of the Red Cross expressed dismay at the resurgence of the Taliban, declaring that the humanitarian situation was worsening and the conflict was expanding. While intelligence reports indicate that al-Qaida is no longer based in the country, operating from across the border in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province, only a costly, protracted U.S./NATO deployment in southern and eastern Afghanistan prevents the group's return to its safe harbor.

Also this spring, Director of National Intelligence General Michael McConnell acknowledged that Afghan President Hamid Karzai's administration only controls 30 percent of the country. According to McConnell, the Taliban holds 10 percent, with the rest controlled by tribes or local figures not subservient to Kabul. The number of Taliban-initiated incidents in 2008 is likely to surpass even that of 2007, and advances in Logar and Wardak provinces just to the south of Kabul raise the prospect of rising pressure on the capital itself.

The resurgent Taliban is drawing on a seemingly inexhaustible base of recruits in Pakistan and among discouraged and often impoverished Afghan youth. Unchecked opium-trade profits provide funding for the growing Taliban operations. The opium bazaar also provides vast funding for al-Qaida and allied anti-government leaders such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Jallaluddin Haqqani. In addition to providing a principal funding source for Karzai's adversaries, the massive, exploding opium production has critically hobbled the government itself, corrupting officials at the district, provincial and national levels.

What accounts for this escalating failure? More important, how can it be turned around? It is no secret that the

Edmund McWilliams is a retired FSO and periodic contributor to the Journal. He has served in Islamabad, where he was special envoy for Afghanistan, and in Kabul. In 1992, he opened the first U.S. embassies in Bishkek and Dushanbe, serving as chargé d'affaires in both. He retired in 2001 after a 26-year career.

***The conception of a system
of government for post-
Taliban Afghanistan that
ignores the country's history,
traditions and political
realities was flawed.***

U.S.-led effort to rescue Afghanistan has been vastly under-resourced, relegated to an afterthought by the enormous and ever-expanding demands of the Bush administration's Iraq campaign. And the Afghan leaders themselves are far from blameless. But the international intervention also contained fundamental design flaws in the conception of a system of government for post-Taliban Afghanistan that ignores the country's history, traditions and political realities.

Recognition of this misstep points to a possible path toward greater stability and an eventual rescue of the venture in Afghanistan.

A Range of Perspectives

The apparent deadlock has prompted a range of proposals and recommendations shaped in part by varying assessments of progress to date in the areas of security, development and Afghan governance. Administration assessments have generally been more positive in all three areas than those of non-government analysts and those of Afghans themselves.

In the security area, administration analysis has tended to portray rising Taliban assertiveness as evidence of desperation, while private-sector analysts tend to regard the rise of Taliban-initiated attacks, including suicide attacks, as evidence of growing sophistication and capacity. Economic development presents a patchwork of problems with poor security, limited government absorptive capacity and international aid commitments that are incompletely fulfilled or consumed by costly donor-country contractors seen generally as impeding progress.

Afghan governance similarly gets mixed reviews. While the government remains reasonably stable and Afghans enjoy far broader freedoms than under Taliban rule, corruption, particularly related to opium production and trafficking, remains endemic. Critical government services, especially related to justice and the police, are widely seen as having failed.

Recommendations range from prescriptions for a modest course correction to calls for more urgent and wide-ranging change. There is growing agreement

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between the administration and non-government analysts that reliance on Pakistani territory as a safe harbor and recruiting base constitutes a critical advantage for the Taliban and its allies, though divisions remain over how to address this problem. Some call for a much stronger U.S. role, possibly to include assumption of command in southern Afghanistan, where the Taliban is strongest. There is also sharp disagreement over how to address Taliban basing and logistics operations in Pakistan. Proposals range from assertive U.S./NATO action that is less constrained by concerns of Pakistani sovereignty to a willingness to give Islamabad time to negotiate with local leaders in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Swat, a district in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province.

There has been much less debate, however, on recommendations related to the non-security aspects of policy — namely, development and governance. The attempt to centralize leadership of economic efforts under a development czar was generally supported in the international community but resisted by some Afghans. In any event,

progress in development and, to a lesser extent, effective governance remains hostage to progress in improving the security environment. Ironically, effective governance is perceived as a matter that falls more exclusively within the Afghan purview — despite the reality that the central government functions within a framework created by the international community at the 2001 Bonn conference.

Forgetting History

While the international community and, in particular, the U.S., are to be faulted for paying insufficient attention over the long term to Afghanistan, the troubled nation's leaders also bear considerable responsibility for the failures of recent years. Today, even where the central government *does* exercise influence, too often Kabul-appointed officials are corrupt or incompetent or, in some places, operate at cross purposes with the government. The police and judiciary are broadly ineffective and have caused great popular disaffection. There is no effective civil service throughout much of Afghanistan; both the Public Service

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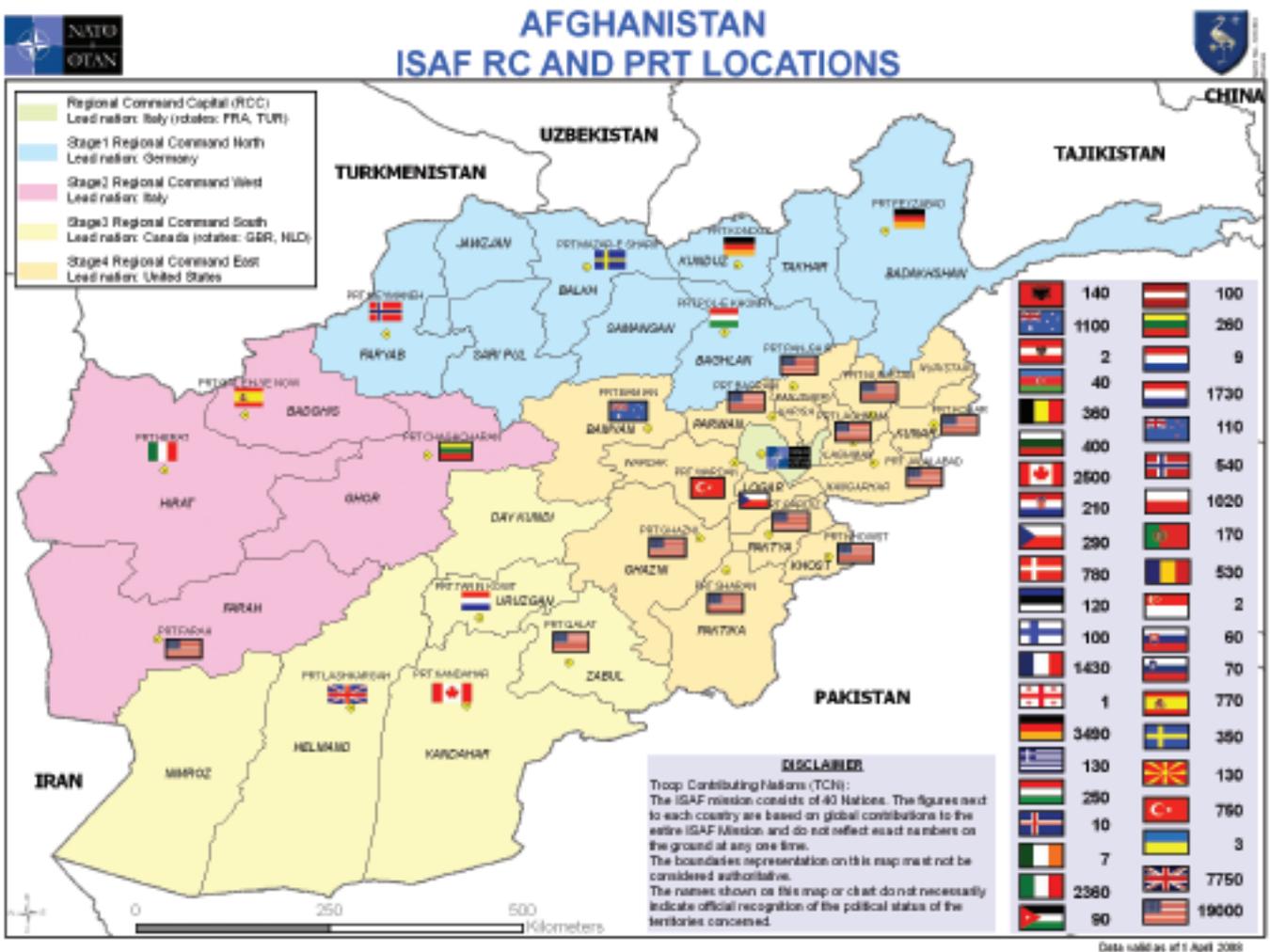
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Commission and the Judicial Reform Commission are highly politicized and ineffective; and education, a critical need in a society that has seen two generations come of age without schooling, is limited by Taliban targeting of governmental education efforts.

Afghans tell pollsters that an absence of security is their greatest concern, with endemic corruption another chronic and debilitating reality. They are keenly aware that no senior official has been prosecuted for corruption. International funding for development is frequently misdirected. The failure to establish justice not only effectively confers impunity for past crimes; it also leaves the population vulnerable to future abuses, often by the same perpetrators.

The inability of Afghan officials to develop effective governance structures at the national and local levels,

despite international advice and support, is often perceived as an endemic failure reflecting Afghans' alleged incapacity to sustain self-government. However, that perspective ignores the nation's long history as a self-governing entity that was, over much of the 20th century, one of the Islamic world's more progressive, successful states. In particular, the reign of King Zahir Shah (1933-1973) was a time of relative peace, economic growth and limited democracy that included a significant place for women to have professional roles in politics, education and commerce.

This relatively successful and peaceful period was remarkable in several respects. For much of the post-World War II period, U.S. and Soviet competition for influence in Afghanistan was intense and could have been destabilizing. But rather than suffering the Cold

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War turbulence endured by Korea, Vietnam and Nicaragua, Afghanistan deftly managed the competing superpower interests to its advantage. More remarkably, the Afghan government balanced competing ethnic and tribal rivalries, although some minorities, notably the Hazara, suffered persistent neglect. This successful balance entailed blunting the interference of neighboring powers who sought to manipulate clans and local leaders. It was based on appeals to nationhood and, crucially, reliance on a traditional structure of governance that corresponded with local political realities.

Decentralization was the key. While the central government addressed national issues related to defense, macrodevelopment, national commerce and provision of vital services, provincial and district governance was left to local leaders whose authority was based on their tribal or ethnic-based political power. There was corruption and in some instances, such as a disastrous drought and famine in the north in the later years of Zahir Shah's rule,

the central government failed to respond in a timely and effective manner. But generally the system worked well, allowing cultural and social differences to manifest themselves without interference by the central government. For most Afghans, the king was far away and the village walls were high.

The December 2001 Bonn process, which established an internationally supported scheme for post-Taliban governance in Afghanistan, was in many ways a remarkable achievement. A broad international consensus that, crucially, included a U.S.-Iranian-Pakistani understanding, it created the basis for compromise among fractious Afghans aligned largely on the basis of ethnicity, tribe and party identity.

But in hindsight, the Bonn plan had a key flaw. Rather than adopt the decentralized model for Afghan governance that had worked well prior to the 1978 advent of the Communist Party's centralized rule, the Bonn conference endorsed a highly centralized, powerful executive model

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of government — notwithstanding the fragile alliance of multiple, competing interests on which the new regime was to be based.

Centralization Backfires

As per the Bonn process, the Karzai administration has pursued a centralized economic policy, centrally controlling justice, health and educational services as well. The 2004 constitution further entrenched this presidential system. Its framework was an outgrowth of a December 2003 national meeting (*loya jirga*) that convened and deliberated under international influence.

That meeting was not, however, organized along traditional lines. According to custom, the assembly should have given voice to genuine tribal and other local leaders, intellectual and cultural leaders and religious personages. Instead, its membership consisted largely of military and political figures who had been empowered by the anti-Soviet jihad. Many of these figures owed their prominence to foreign support, and more than a few were corrupt, brutal warlords whose power was based on their capacity to inspire fear rather than respect among Afghans.

The new governance system has also created an environment of intensely personalized politics, generating a court of supplicants that has enervated Karzai's presidency and tarnished it with a reputation of corruption and incompetence. The appointment of officials (provincial governors and police officials, who are often warlords or militia commanders) is largely based on political patronage, leaving local communities hostage to political deal-making in Kabul.

The national parliament is another matter. Its election in 2005 drew a low turnout, in part because of poor administration of the election. Voter and candidate intimidation, a confusing system for casting ballots and a field of candidates that included notorious warlords and criminals also severely diminished voter interest. The elections produced a mixed result. While women are relatively well represented, the parliament also includes many figures against whom there are credible allegations of human rights abuses and other criminal activity. These include major figures from the seven *tanzims*, the mujahedeen parties developed in the 1980s under the aegis of Islamabad and Washington. Parliamentarians

The 2004 constitution further entrenched the centralized, presidential system.

need not be literate, and many are not. This, along with the relative lack of a meaningful parliamentary role in a system heavily weighted toward the executive, has limited the power and influence of the legislature, which in any event has been highly fractious and frequently undemocratic.

But, rather than strengthening Karzai, the presidential system established under this new constitution has tended to make him a lightning rod for the failures of both his regime and the international community to fulfill their promises to the Afghan people. Though he retains their sympathy — Afghans turned out in large numbers in 2004 to elect him — Pres. Karzai is increasingly seen as well-meaning but feckless.

Looking Ahead

The fall 2009 presidential election, if not precluded by security problems, and the parliamentary election to follow in 2010 could provide opportunities for new leadership under a new governance formula.

It is unlikely, however, that simply a new mandate for Karzai or selection of a successor would significantly change the structural problems that have hobbled Afghanistan over the past three years. Nor is it likely that the composition of the legislature would change significantly, given the fact that members have for the most part used their tenure since 2005 to entrench themselves.

Although time is short, consideration should be given to convening a new *loya jirga* along traditional lines — namely, drawing in genuine leadership from tribal and ethnic groups, intellectuals and religious leaders. The aims of this gathering would be to reconsider the structure of government bequeathed to the Afghan nation by the 2001 Bonn process and to renew popular hope by drawing on the lessons of successful and authentic Afghan experience.

There is reason to expect a new *loya jirga* could yield better results than the 2001 process, which took place under exceedingly difficult circumstances. It was necessary to find unity among Afghan participants who agreed on little more than their common opposition to the Taliban. Ethnic and tribal enmity, the tragic loss of key potential leaders and ideological differences presented international mediators with great challenges. Compet-

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ing interests and longstanding hostilities among the international mediators themselves raised their own set of problems. That agreement was reached is a tribute to the skillfulness of the mediators and to those Afghans who made key and often selfless compromises.

A new loya jirga would meet under still-daunting challenges, as set forth above. But its deliberations would be informed by more than six years of experience and a popular consensus that demands an end to corruption; a working justice system that punishes war crimes and malfeasance; and government at the local level that is responsive to local will, especially in the provision of security and prerequisites for development.

Those who have accumulated power (and wealth) under the current system can be expected to resist such a restructuring, as it could rewrite the political rules of the game in Afghanistan. But leadership by Pres. Karzai, perhaps in the context of his expected campaign for reelection in 2009, could create momentum for such an initiative. At this point, however, some close observers

expect that rather than striking out for a bold program of fundamental reforms, he will continue to opt for the formulation of deals with jihad-era warlords, whose antipathy to reform in the areas of social development, education, human rights protections and development of a free media is all too clear.

Yet Karzai's skills as a politician and his standing as a Pashtun leader are on the line. He seems trapped by a system that forces him to deal with local power holders rather than the Afghan people. Moreover, his increasingly frequent overtures to the Taliban have raised concerns with both Afghans and the international community. He will be tested as he seeks to distinguish between those within the Taliban who can be reconciled to democracy and those who cannot.

A national conference organized along traditional lines could be expected to favor fundamental changes toward re-creation of the system of governance that worked for Afghanistan throughout much of the 20th century. This would include a far more decentralized

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setup, relying on elected provincial and local leaders and, at the national level, a parliamentary system with a more ceremonial president and a government composed of competent technocrats reporting to a strong and popular prime minister.

An Optimistic Scenario

Empowering the national parliament would entail risks. It is likely that any legislature would reflect Afghanistan's ethnic and tribal mosaic, though it is possible that ideology would manifest itself in the representation of some urban populations, as was true of Afghan parliaments prior to the communist coup of 1978. But a loya jirga could address this concern by authorizing a new parliamentary election based, at least in part, on a party system.

Formed on the basis of elections far better organized than in 2005, a parliamentary system would afford the prospect of political leadership more closely reflecting the aspirations of the people and more accountable to them. Formation of political parties would also increase democratization of the parliament by reaching, over time, across ethnic and cultural lines that currently form the basis of power blocs.

A new loya jirga could help ensure a more representative body by establishing literacy requirements and, more crucially, by setting strict qualifications — for both individuals and parties — for participation in a new parliamentary election. In the lead-up to the 2005 parliamentary balloting, the Afghan Election Commission vetted candidates to screen out those with criminal or violent backgrounds. After initially ruling that 208 of more than 2,500 candidates should be disqualified, it ultimately succumbed to pressure and barred only 11. Even the 208 initially identified represented only a small fraction of those whose candidacy should have been challenged. Constitutional prohibitions barring those guilty of certain human rights abuses were ineffective because the absence of a functioning justice system meant that perpetrators had never been convicted.

Inasmuch as there is still no real progress in the judicial sector toward the identification, prosecution and conviction of those guilty of grave human rights abuses and other crimes, it would be necessary to invest a new election commission with quasi-judicial powers,

Pres. Karzai's skills as a politician and his standing as a Pashtun leader are on the line.

enabling it to exclude the clearly corrupt and the worst abusers. To be effective and credible, the commission would have to be composed of outstanding individuals whose reputation for integrity would imbue it with the requisite authority. Adequate international support for this body would be vital, but its character

and composition would need to be indisputably Afghan.

This election commission or a separate, similarly empowered body could also set terms for political participation in parliamentary and other elections by former Taliban members. Such a commission would relieve Pres. Karzai of this politically explosive burden.

Ideally, the loya jirga that would constitute and compose this commission or commissions should itself include tribal and ethnic leaders and other individuals who have standing with the Taliban. The concept would be similar to an effort, proposed but never implemented, to lure supporters of the Mohammad Najibullah regime in 1989 into a successor government by inviting "good Muslims" from the former's ranks.

Realistically, convening an authentic loya jirga prior to the 2010 parliamentary elections may not be feasible. But it is essential that, at a minimum, the parliamentary elections be properly prepared. Whether formed and empowered by a loya jirga, a much more legitimate basis, or by action of the Afghan government and international donors, an election commission with broad powers and a clear mandate to rule on prerequisites for candidacy are needed, to ensure that the parliament emerges as a credible institution capable of balancing the power of a very strong presidency.

In the final analysis, Afghanistan remains a victim of international intervention that has empowered some of the worst elements of society and trapped its people in a foreign-made political system that ignores their history, tradition and political realities. While some of this intervention has been well meaning, much of it has been self-serving, reflecting the national ambitions and interests of other countries.

Afghanistan was the first victim of Taliban misrule and al-Qaida brutality. It deserves another chance in a new political system mandated by a traditionally organized loya jirga that reflects the nation's history and reality and is perceived by Afghans as legitimate. ■

PRTs IN AFGHANISTAN: A REPORT FROM THE INSIDE

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THE CHALLENGES FOR AMERICAN POLICY IN AFGHANISTAN, WHERE THE PROVINCIAL RECONSTRUCTION TEAM CONCEPT WAS BORN, REMAIN FORMIDABLE.

By BRUCE ROGERS, JIM HOPE AND ROBERT KEMP

The United States is currently employing all elements of national power to help Afghanistan overcome the legacy of three decades of war and to keep it from ever again serving as a launching pad for terrorism. For those of us here, every day is a 9/11 anniversary. As a constant reminder of our task, two small memorial stones in front of Embassy Kabul mark the resting place of rubble from the Twin Trade Towers.

Our strategy is focused on three main efforts: improving security, fostering economic development and strengthening governance.

Our challenges are formidable. By comparison with Iraq, Afghanistan is larger and more populous, possesses a forbidding topography and a monumental narcotics problem, and is profoundly poor. The effort is made even more difficult by the lack of infrastructure and by weakened and distorted societal institutions. Finally, we face a hodgepodge of insurgent groups, including the Taliban, derivative Soviet-era resistance groups, cross-border tribes and al-Qaida.

While our goal is to help build Afghanistan into a

nation that can serve as a force for regional stability, warfighting is still a major part of our activity. Approximately 28,000 U.S. troops, split between Operation Enduring Freedom and the International Security and Assistance Force, and 28,000 NATO/ISAF troops are deployed around the country to fight the insurgency and provide the security necessary to ensure the furtherance of governance and development.

Combat power alone, however, will not lead us to our desired end-state. Its role is to separate the population from the insurgents, providing space for the extension of good government, provision of essential services and stimulation of economic development — our most potent weapons.

Our Asymmetric Advantage

There has been much ink spilled over the last seven years about how the enemy wages “asymmetric warfare” against us. In his book *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (Vintage, 2008), British General Rupert Smith notes that asymmetry simply means that one side doesn’t play to the other side’s strengths. It is, moreover, a strategy that both sides can employ. For their part, the insurgents use terror to bring about their dark vision of an order imposed by the gun according to half-understood tenets of Islamic law. This

Bruce Rogers is director and Robert Kemp is deputy director of the Provincial Reconstruction and Local Governance Section in Embassy Kabul, while Jim Hope is director of the USAID PRT Section there.

order is a barrier to change, education, economic betterment and human rights. We cannot defeat this tactic by combat power alone.

Instead, we have capitalized on our asymmetric advantage, the ability to offer both a better today and a better tomorrow. The United States is the largest donor to Afghanistan, carrying out comprehensive sector programs in agriculture and alternative development, infrastructure (roads and power), health, education, economic growth, good governance and the rule of law.

In 2001, fewer than one million boys and no girls attended school in Afghanistan. Now, six million children (40 percent of them girls) regularly go to school. Infant mortality has been slashed. Eighty percent of all Afghans now have access to medical care. Licit exports have increased nearly 600 percent. The extent of paved or improved roads has been doubled to 40,000 kilometers. Each road brings development and stability: as the saying goes, “Where the roads end, the Taliban begins.” While worthwhile, it is a tremendous effort that often seems to proceed at a glacial pace.

We are not alone in this fight. In addition to NATO/ISAF, the U.N., the Red Cross and a slew of nongovernmental organizations are on the ground. Unfortunately, however, many of these entities approach the complex Afghan environment the same way they have a dozen other conflict zones, regardless of whether their methods are appropriate or effective under the circumstances. Seeing this, the United States decided that a new approach was needed, and thus the Provincial Reconstruction Team concept was born.

A Unique Institution

Since their inception, PRTs have proven effective in supporting the spread of governance and development in Afghanistan. The first PRT was stood up in Paktia province in a traditional mud compound in 2002. Since then, 25 additional teams (11 U.S.-led and 14 non-U.S.) have been deployed throughout the country, mostly on small Forward Operating Bases located in provincial capitals. The U.S.-led teams combine civilian and military personnel who focus on governance, development and security.

The integration of civilians is one of the major differences between the American effort and those of our allies.

These civil-military teams work with the Afghan government, civil society, Afghan and coalition security forces, and the international community. Because the country's provinces differ greatly in terms of ethnic and tribal mix, level of security and economic development, there can be no “cookie cutter” approach. That said, each PRT has a similar mandate: to extend the

reach of the Afghan government, carry out reconstruction projects and help build up local security forces.

Ten of the 12 U.S. PRTs are located in Regional Command East under the control of Combined Joint Task Force 101. The 101st also commands U.S. and coalition combat forces within its area of responsibility. Subordinate brigades coordinate the actions of both the PRTs and the combat units. It should be emphasized, however, that the PRTs are separate entities from the combat, or “maneuver” units.

The PRTs have national identities, as well. Eleven of the 12 U.S. PRTs are military-led and have a handful of civilian officers — one each from State, USAID and USDA. The civilians are equal members of the PRT's integrated command team. The military commander has final authority on all security matters, but the civilians take the lead on governance and development. By contrast, some non-U.S. PRTs are led by senior civilians with a sizable non-military staff, or by the military with civilian development advisers from the host country.

There are also philosophical differences. U.S. PRTs are integrated civil-military counterinsurgency units. Other nations view PRTs either as development agencies with a military component for security, or as agencies that only provide security training. We believe that the U.S. model is the most effective, and some of our allies seem to be coming around to this view. There is a growing recognition by our British and Canadian colleagues (among others) that “the Americans seem to have caught on to something.”

The integration of non-military personnel is one of the major differences between the American effort and those of our allies. While other nations also assign civilians to their PRTs, the two sides often operate in virtual isolation from each other. In some non-U.S. PRTs, the relationship between them borders on hostility. In contrast, vis-

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itors to both our PRTs and our brigades are struck by the strong and positive working relationships that exist among the Americans, regardless of agency. U.S. civilians who are assigned to non-U.S. PRTs work hard, with varying degrees of success, to replicate such relationships with their lead-nation hosts.

The Civilian Component

Civilian personnel are assigned to PRTs to provide crucial skill sets that the military lacks. These include political reporting, cultural awareness, an understanding of civilian governmental structures and a background in development. State Department personnel can be broadly defined as political officers, although on any given day they may be involved in public diplomacy or in economic, political-military or consular issues; or they may be engaged in work that falls outside of any defined category. USAID and USDA personnel serve as catalysts for development activities, ensuring that programs are integrated and coordinated with reconstruction efforts of

the military and other donors, while reflecting the priorities of the Afghan government. As the lead for development, the USAID officer works closely with military and civilian counterparts to shape PRT efforts based on proven best practices.

The fluid situation on the ground, however, makes it hard for civilian PRT officers to know with any certainty how their day will unfold. Positive things, such as inaugurations of development projects or meetings with tribal leaders, are somewhat predictable. Negative occurrences are the wild cards: tribes may clash over land, insurgents may set off a bomb, the governor may clash with his provincial council chief, or rains may trigger flooding.

One thing is certain, however: most of our officers get outside of their Forward Operating Bases on a daily basis. They interact with the governor (who is appointed by President Hamid Karzai), the popularly elected Provincial Council, tribal elders, religious leaders and others. They also interact with communities to identify



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development and governance priorities, and monitor the many U.S.-sponsored development activities in their province.

Our officers are uniquely effective. Unlike in Iraq — where the PRTs have large civilian contingents, including contractors as well as civilians from other agencies — in Afghanistan personnel from the Foreign and Civil Service are the only nonmilitary representatives at their PRTs. As such, they wield great responsibility, often at reasonably junior ranks. Among the few civilians assigned to remote Forward Operating Bases, each provides a value far in excess of what could be expected from one person. In one case we received information that a particular terrorist group was so concerned over the impact that one officer was having that they issued orders to kill the individual (in response, we took appropriate steps).

Our opponents are right to be afraid. By openly and persuasively engaging tribal leaders, we are able to convince them that sending their daughters to school is a good thing and that it is better that their young men build roads rather than behead road builders. By their efforts, our people are at once helping Afghanistan and countering the insurgency.

While military personnel do engage in these tasks, they recognize the expertise that civilians bring — and want more. Last fall, we began examining how to bolster the civilian presence at our PRTs. Some argued for a replication of the model that has proven successful in Iraq, where the PRTs have a robust civilian presence. This approach was rejected, however, primarily because PRT bases in Afghanistan are small, so adding extra civilians would not only increase the logistical burden but transform a compact, well-running institution into a larger, less nimble bureaucracy. Additionally, very few of the Afghanistan PRTs are based at or near major military facilities. In any case, there simply aren't the spare bodies to go around.

“PRT Plus”

Instead, it was decided that the same effect could be achieved by adding State and USAID personnel to the embassy and to the brigades that oversee the PRTs. After some interagency polishing locally, Embassy Kabul's “PRT Plus” concept was approved by Washington and will be funded through a supplemental to be implemented as soon as funding is available.

In addition to quantity, we also focused on quality

through changes in focus, planning and training. An important step occurred earlier this year when the embassy's State PRT office was given the interagency lead for local governance, a key element in our effort to connect the Afghan people to their government. This transformed the office from an operational shop into a policy section. The embassy's hard-working political section is primarily focused on issues of national governance. The PRT section, which directly controls the officers deployed to the provinces, is able to reach much deeper into the local level, developing an expertise that is difficult for a Kabul-based officer to master.

Innovative work is also taking place in terms of our counterinsurgency effort in Afghanistan. USAID staff working with U.S. forces are successfully integrating development interventions into combat planning and operations, which is helping achieve greater success for the “clear, hold, build” counterinsurgency strategy in remote and insecure areas. This has had great success in mitigating negative reactions following combat operations. Civilian advisers follow the forces, assisting to repair damage and implementing quick-impact projects that make an immediate and measurable difference in the lives of local residents. Examples include “micro-hydro” projects, small hydroelectric facilities that can bring power to a village for the first time in its history. Such seemingly small steps can make the difference in determining whether a village supports the insurgents or turns toward the government.

We are also making strides in preparing our people for working closely with the military in a foreign environment. State's Office of the Coordinator for Stabilization and Reconstruction and USAID's Office of Military Affairs have broken new ground as they work to refine the three-week training course for incoming civilian PRT staff. The course, conducted at Ft. Bragg, brings together the military and civilian elements of each team.

Additionally, we have focused on promoting continuity, to ensure that we do not repeat the Vietnam-era syndrome of fighting a series of “one-year wars.” The first step was taken when the State PRT offices became interagency lead for local governance. Our next effort involved the dispatch of S/CRS teams to each of the U.S.-led PRTs. These teams drew on proven private-sector strategic planning instruments, already used extensively by the military services and intelligence community, to design, test and validate an integrated planning process.

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The effort led to better civil-military integration, as well as a long-term planning document that provides guidance and continuity for new teams.

Finally, while the military and civilians train together, they do deploy on slightly different cycles. When a new team arrives, it overlaps with the existing PRT, whose military elements depart after several weeks, leaving the civilians in place for up to three months. The resulting overlap promotes continuity and flattens the learning curve as new teams come into the country.

Key Challenges Remain

Despite our overall success, several key challenges remain. First and foremost is staffing. Given our goal of sending all of our officers to 44 weeks of either Pashto- or Dari-language training, and the fact that PRTs are one-year assignments, recruiting is a year-round job. Additionally, the rigors of PRT life are such that we must be highly selective during the hiring process. Finally, we face the reality that as “the other war,” we are in constant

competition with Iraq for qualified applicants.

On a practical basis, our greatest challenge is obtaining funding for our officers. While State personnel bring a wealth of knowledge and experience to the table, they bring little or no money. While our public diplomacy colleagues have worked long and hard to direct grant money to our PRTs, the lack of quick-impact funds has had a significant negative effect on the teams’ ability to do their jobs. We continue to examine new and innovative ways to support our PRT staff.

In the six years since the first PRT was stood up, the teams have evolved from an interesting experiment into a key component of our effort to transform Afghanistan. While we have implemented a number of changes over the last year, we do not intend to rest on our laurels and say “good enough.” Working together at the embassy, with the military and with the international community, we will continue our efforts to keep our PRTs at the forefront of civil-military cooperation in a counterinsurgency environment. ■

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NATO AND AFGHANISTAN: MADE FOR EACH OTHER?

THE AFGHANISTAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS
IS PROVING TO BE A CRITICAL TEST OF
NATO'S CAPACITIES.

By WILLIAM MALEY

At first glance, NATO and Afghanistan might seem made for each other. Faced with ongoing problems of insurgency despite the overthrow of the Taliban regime in November 2001, Afghanistan continues to require outside assistance to bring a modicum of security to the lives of ordinary people. NATO, for its part, faces the challenge of proving meaningful in a post-Cold War world where its role can no longer be to keep America in, Russia out and Germany down. So the advent of new threats was, at least in one sense, remarkably fortuitous.

Yet in significant respects, the Afghanistan experience has proved a testing one for both. The need to engage in serious combat operations — mercifully avoided during the period of the Cold War — has proved a notable practical challenge for NATO, exposing problems of political will and operational coordination. Afghanistan has also brought into sharp focus the question of what kind of leadership from the United States will be politi-

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cally acceptable in the context of a “Global War on Terror” that means different things to American and European observers and publics.

The government of President Hamid Karzai is confronting the need to balance the use of kinetic force against the threat of a revived nationalism that could turn the Afghan people against the U.S. and allied militaries that were warmly welcomed when they arrived in 2001. More broadly, Kabul is seeking an international approach that goes beyond Afghanistan itself to recognize the impact of regional threats, especially from the east. The West's failure to bite this particular bullet has left Kabul deeply frustrated, although political change in Pakistan may be opening new opportunities for positive action.

As a result of all these factors, the Afghanistan theater of operations is proving to be a critical test of NATO's capacities in the post-Cold War world. If it is ultimately seen to have failed, its future may come under increasing scrutiny. There is obviously no short-term threat to the Atlantic alliance, broadly speaking. But it is perhaps worth recalling that two military alliances that were set up a generation ago as parallels to NATO — CENTO and SEATO — have both disappeared into the mists of time.

Into the Breach?

NATO's involvement in Afghanistan was not something explicitly mandated by the Bonn Agreement of December 2001 that sketched a pathway for Afghanistan's "post-conflict" transition. But it was naturally assumed that the organization would be involved, not least because of the solidarity with the United States that NATO and its members had voiced after the 9/11 attacks.

In Annex I to the Bonn Agreement, the participants sought the "assistance of the international community in helping the new Afghan authorities in the establishment and training of new Afghan security and armed forces." They further requested the United Nations Security Council "to consider authorizing the early deployment to Afghanistan of a United Nations-mandated force" to "assist in the maintenance of security for Kabul and its surrounding area." Such a force "could, as appropriate, be progressively expanded to other urban centers and other areas." The Security Council proceeded, through Resolution 1386 adopted on Dec. 20, 2001, to authorize the establishment of an International Security Assistance Force, with a "Chapter VII" enforcement mandate to take action "to maintain or restore international peace and security."

Ideally, this force should have been deployed throughout the country as rapidly as possible, to consolidate the momentum that the overthrow of the Taliban regime had created. But this was not to be. Differences emerged between the NATO allies over the burdens to be carried. And the Bush administration — perhaps with an eye to future operations in Iraq — was reluctant to commit the airlift capability required to sustain an expanded ISAF. This came to a head in a very public way, through the publication in the *Washington Post* on March 20, 2002, of an article headlined "Peacekeepers Won't Go Beyond Kabul, Cheney Says."

This effectively killed off the idea of ISAF expansion in the short run, although alarmed observers continued to press for it to happen. Not until Oct. 13, 2003, with Security Council Resolution 1510, did the ISAF receive a wider mandate — two months after NATO had formally assumed authority for the ISAF mission. (The shift to NATO leadership was designed to overcome the disloca-

The Afghanistan theater of operations is proving to be a critical test of NATO's capacities in the post-Cold War world.

tions that had earlier arisen as new states were inducted to lead the mission for six-month periods.) By then, however, critical time had been lost.

The need to find an on-the-ground substitute for an expanded ISAF was a key factor contributing to the development of the Provincial Reconstruction Team model, which also drew on some of the experiences of the U.S. military in South Vietnam — the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program, in particular.

The model envisaged cooperative endeavors by military and civilian affairs personnel in support of the reconstruction and peacebuilding activities of local Afghan authorities. These would run alongside the operations directed at eliminating al-Qaida operatives and armed insurgents, following the "inkspot" theory of social order underpinning the PRT model. This implied that the benefits of such activities would spread like ink on blotting paper, demonstrating to wavering communities the benefits of throwing their support behind the new Afghan state and its international backers.

Challenges On the Ground

By early 2008, no fewer than 26 PRTs were operating in different parts of Afghanistan, some under U.S. command and others part of NATO's deployments. On the ground, the teams' operations have been shaped by both the local circumstances they confront and their own countries' military-organizational cultures and senses of what a mission in Afghanistan should properly involve.

In some parts of Afghanistan — such as the relatively stable Bamiyan, where New Zealand personnel comprise the core of the local PRT — the model has worked well. In other areas, however, the picture has been much more blurred. In Kandahar, for example, Canadian forces have suffered significant casualties at the hands of a neo-Taliban insurgency, well beyond the casualty levels that the Canadian public had been led to expect. This and the similar experiences of the British in Helmand have raised doubts about the viability of pursuing reconstruction in an environment in which ambient security is absent. And in an organizational sense, problems have arisen around such mundane matters as personnel rotation and loss of

institutional memory, as well as the question of how well “quick-impact projects” fit into the framework of the Afghan National Development Strategy of 2006 and the broader Millennium Developments Goals.

The ongoing insurgency in southern Afghanistan has taxed the will of a number of NATO members. This is especially the case in parliamentary systems where force deployments may enjoy the support of, at best, a fickle and fragile majority. Some of this opposition amounts to no more than knee-jerk anti-Americanism, but in other cases it reflects a genuine conviction that military force cannot resolve the problems of Afghanistan. Others believe that the war is unwinnable because Afghan nationalism will always lead to successful popular mobilization against foreign forces. These convictions may be ill-grounded, but they are nonetheless part of the political environment with which the U.S. and its NATO allies must deal.

The conflict in Iraq has complicated this problem. Deeply unpopular with European publics, it has the potential to drain support from the Afghan theater of operations, as well. In July 2007, White House Homeland Security Adviser Frances F. Townsend described the struggles in Iraq and Afghanistan as “clearly a single conflict by a single determined enemy who is looking for safe haven.” To European publics this is not a claim calculated to boost support for operations in Afghanistan; the most recent Transatlantic Trends survey, conducted by the German Marshall Fund of the United States in 2007, found that only 30 percent of European respondents supported combat operations against the Taliban in Afghanistan. A delinking of the two situations would help to make the case for sustaining the commitment more marketable.

In a Feb. 8 interview, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates offered a nuanced defence of involvement in Afghanistan, noting that lingering anger in Europe over the U.S. invasion of Iraq explained why some allies were reluctant to heed U.S. calls for more combat troops in Afghanistan. It remains, however, to be seen how much the allies will deliver in response to the call for greater assistance to Afghanistan that was contained in the declaration of NATO members at the April 2008 Bucharest Summit.

***The ongoing
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NATO members.***

Through Afghans’ Eyes

NATO’s involvement is controversial not only in Europe, but in Afghanistan as well. Civilian casualties are one key problem. The arrival of international forces was celebrated in Afghanistan, where the Taliban remain deeply unloved. But any foreign force can outstay its welcome if it loses sight of the local population and its needs. Here, the problem of “collateral damage” is extremely serious.

Every civilian casualty has the potential to create new enemies, and great care needs to be taken to avoid them if at all possible.

Another weighty problem relates to the cultivation of opium poppies, an industry in which over two million Afghans are now entangled, many as poor wage-laborers. For the wider world, the temptation to deal with this problem through simple eradication may be considerable. But fear that this will happen is becoming a major recruiting tool for the Taliban, probably of greater significance to their insurgency than the cash that they may be able to derive from the drug trade.

The issue of eradication has also become a point of friction between various NATO members and the government of Afghanistan. To some, the opium poppy is a curse which helps fund Taliban operations and should be eliminated with maximum expedition. To the Kabul government, this is profoundly naïve, given the number of poor Afghans who are dependent on some income from opium in order to eke out a meager living, and for whom “alternative livelihoods policies” remain a remote chimera. What has been largely lost in the dust surrounding this dispute is the complexity of the narcotics problem in Afghanistan, which is underpinned by diverse incentive structures, has multiple local variants, and is also significantly transnational in character.

Dwarfing these issues, however, is the threat posed by the Taliban’s external sanctuaries. As a threat to Afghanistan’s stability, this is vastly more serious than the occasional cache of arms of Iranian origin. In August 2007, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf made a very candid statement about this problem while addressing a so-called “Peace Jirga” in Kabul: “There is no doubt Afghan militants are supported from Pakistani soil. The problem that you have in your region is

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because support is provided from our side.”

Much speculation has surrounded the question of whether Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence directorate has directly orchestrated or passively tolerated such militant activity. But in a real sense this misses the point. As a sovereign state Pakistan has rights, but it also has responsibilities, and one of these duties is to prevent its territory from being used in this way. Closing the border with Afghanistan is not an effective means to this end, but moving vigorously against key Afghan Taliban cells inside Pakistan would be.

Few observers with any knowledge of Pakistan doubt Islamabad's ability to deal with this problem — if presented in a serious and sustained fashion with the right incentives to do so. The key sanctuaries for the Afghan Taliban leaders are in the city of Quetta rather than the remote and inaccessible tribal areas; and the “Red

***Here, the problem of
“collateral damage”
is extremely serious.***

light of Pres. Musharraf's admission, a shadow will hover over the seriousness of their commitment to Afghanistan.

The Reality Test

NATO's battle in Afghanistan is not just a struggle against gangs of Taliban fighters. It is a battle for the confidence of the Afghan people. And the blunt reality is that Afghans' experience of the wider world in recent decades has not been encouraging.

After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in February 1989 interest in the Afghans and their problems dwindled substantially in the West, facilitating the

Mosque” crisis in Islamabad in July 2007 demonstrated that the Pakistan military can effectively concentrate its fire on such targets if it chooses to do so.

As long as NATO states seem unwilling to take a strong stand in the

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rise of the Taliban. This has been brilliantly documented by two Pulitzer Prize-winning writers: New America Foundation president and *New Yorker* staff writer Steve Coll and McClatchy newspapers' foreign editor Roy Gutman, among others.

It is thus quite rational for Afghans to be skeptical about the depth of Western commitment to their concerns — as opposed to Western interest in dealing with the threat from al-Qaida. And as long as they remain doubtful, they will not throw their support fully behind Afghanistan's transformation. It is therefore very important that NATO members signal, by both word and deed, that there will be no going back to the past. While NATO's April 3, 2008, Bucharest Summit Declaration used the right words, Afghans will judge NATO mainly by its deeds.

The issue of poppy eradication has also become a point of friction between various NATO members and the government of Afghanistan.

Here, they are following a fundamental lesson set out more than 20 years ago in a very different context by a great American. In 1986, the Nobel Prize-winning physicist Richard P. Feynmann was appointed to the commission that investigated the Jan. 28, 1986, loss of the *Challenger* space shuttle. His minority report made powerful reading when it was published, and its conclusion speaks to issues well beyond the realms of physics and engineering. "For a successful technology," he wrote, "reality must take precedence over public relations, for nature cannot be fooled."

The Afghans cannot be fooled, either. NATO's ability to match their needs with realistic responses will be an accurate measure of that institution's value in the post-Cold War world. ■



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THE PAKISTAN PIECE OF THE PUZZLE

AFGHANISTAN'S CONTENTIOUS RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOR IS A CRITICAL ELEMENT IN ITS CONTINUING TROUBLES.

BY FREDERIC GRARE



Almost seven years after 9/11 and the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, the role of Pakistan in the imbroglio remains murky. Relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan have been largely antagonistic since Pakistan gained independence in 1947 — with the exception of the five years of Taliban rule between 1996 and 2001.

In 2001, the U.S. demanded that Pakistan renounce the Taliban, whose rise to power was facilitated by Islamabad, and refrain from installing Afghan leaders of its own in Kabul. Convinced, however, that the American presence in the region would not last, Pakistan embarked on a dual-track policy — providing sanctuary to the remnants of the Taliban on one side of the border, while officially supporting the transitional Afghan government on the other.

Until 2005, Islamabad refrained from any serious interference, helping in the organization of the October

2004 presidential elections in the Afghan refugee camps, as well as the September 2005 parliamentary vote.

Relations began deteriorating again in late 2005 with the resurgence of the Taliban in the Afghan provinces bordering Pakistan. In March 2006, the two countries' presidents, Hamid Karzai and Pervez Musharraf, traded accusations of interference in each country's affairs. The antagonism reached a new peak in May 2007, when Afghan demolition of a fence erected by Pakistan on the border as a result of American pressure prompted a series of clashes in which more than 50 Afghan civilians and officers were killed. During the past year, relations have improved somewhat but remain tense.

Normalization of the Pakistan-Afghanistan relationship is an essential element in bringing about a stable and developing Afghanistan. To understand how that might be possible, it is necessary to look closely at Islamabad's policy toward Afghanistan and what shapes it.

Threat Perceptions

The row over the countries' border is a paradox: Kabul constantly accuses Islamabad of violating a border that Kabul itself does not recognize. Indeed, this dispute is at the core of the complex and unstable bilateral relationship. Imposed by British colonialists in 1893 after two wars to conquer the Afghans produced a stalemate, the

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Durand Line broke the region's dominant Pashtun ethnic group in two, creating a Pashtun-majority Afghanistan and assigning a large portion of the Pashtun-populated areas to what was then British India.

Kabul refuses to recognize such a border and maintains a longstanding claim to the Pashtun territories within Pakistan (the North West Frontier Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and parts of Baluchistan). Islamabad, for its part, denounces Afghan claims as unacceptable: not only would they deprive Pakistan of part of its territory, but could also open a Pandora's box of competing ethnic identities and nationalisms.

This so-called "Pashtunistan issue" becomes even more crucial for Islamabad when seen within the context of the larger South Asian security complex, in particular Pakistan-India relations. Since partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the disputed Kashmir border has been the source of three wars and nearly uninterrupted tension between Pakistan and its larger neighbor. The perceived threat from India has been an important driver of Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan.

New Delhi enjoyed good relations with all Afghan governments, irrespective of their political affiliations, from 1947 until the fall of the Burhanuddin Rabbani government in September 1996. In light of this, from 1947 to 1979 Pakistan was essentially on the defensive, and relations between Islamabad and Kabul experienced several severe crises. Diplomatic relations were even severed for a brief period, and were resumed only when the shah of Iran mediated a rapprochement.

In 1979, however, the Soviet invasion provided Islamabad with an opportunity to reverse Afghan claims to the Pashtun territories inside Pakistan and, with the support of the international community, try to install a more friendly government in Kabul. Thus, as part and parcel of the jihad against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, began Islamabad's use of the border region for asymmetric warfare, the preference given to the Pashtun resistance groups and later, in the vacuum left after the Soviets' 1989 defeat, Pakistan's support to the Taliban.

In 1996, when the Taliban assumed power in Kabul, and India declined to recognize the new government, Delhi's influence was marginalized. But after the Taliban's overthrow in 2001 and India's return to the Afghan scene, Pakistan began to fear that New Delhi's renewed presence would reactivate the Afghan claim to "Greater Pashtunistan."

Islamabad and New Delhi soon began trading accusations of sabotage and terrorism. Pakistan, in particular, accused India of fomenting trouble in Waziristan and Baluchistan from its consulates placed along the border and of placing troops in Afghanistan. As late as July 2006, fully five years after the formation of the International Security Assistance Force, the Pakistani press was still speaking of "unconfirmed reports" that New Delhi was ready to send troops to join the peacekeeping effort in Afghanistan at the request of the U.S., NATO and the European Union.

If the rhetoric about the Indian consulates in Afghanistan and their supposed role in covert destabilization operations in Pakistan has diminished, the mistrust between the two countries persists. Given Islamabad's continued refusal to grant India the transit rights that would allow Afghanistan to benefit from trade and assistance from India, it is reasonable to assume that Pakistan is not ready to accept an Indian presence on both its western and eastern borders.

The U.S. Factor

Ironically, the continuation of a U.S. role and, more generally, an international presence in Afghanistan is a major Pakistani objective. And this helps explain Islamabad's continued support of the Taliban. Because it was never able to secure automatic American protection in case of a conflict with India and is, moreover, convinced that the U.S. will leave Afghanistan as soon as the situation allows, Pakistan has to preserve its status as a front-line state for as long as possible, while at the same time minimizing the risks inherent in such a situation.

Perpetuation of a low-intensity conflict in Afghanistan, coupled with maintenance of indigenous Pakistani terrorist organizations with an international reach, gives Islamabad long-term bargaining power with the U.S. and its allies. As long as American and NATO forces are present in Afghanistan, no regional power, in particular India, can develop a significant influence in the country. This is not Pakistan's sole motivation; nor does it make Islamabad the only party responsible for the current impasse in Afghanistan. It is, nevertheless, an obvious consequence of Pakistan's involvement in Afghan affairs and part of Islamabad's strategic calculations in the region.

Washington's attempts to promote confidence-building measures between Pakistan and Afghanistan — in particular, the Tripartite Commission, composed of senior mili-

tary and diplomatic representatives from Afghanistan, Pakistan and coalition forces in Afghanistan — have contributed effectively to soothing the tensions. They do not, however, suppress the fundamental security dilemma Pakistan faces in its relations with its weaker neighbor.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to treat Pakistan's current support to the Taliban as a simple replay of the 1990s. Although its objectives are evolving along with the Afghan situation itself, Islamabad is no longer trying to take control of its neighbor through its Afghan proxy. Rather, it is trying at once to pressure the current government in Kabul, ensure a robust American and international presence, and prepare for a post-U.S. Afghanistan. In such a context, the Taliban remains a useful instrument that Islamabad can manipulate at will and is unlikely to give up.

The Pakistani Taliban

A new phenomenon, the emergence of a Taliban movement in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan, raises a series of new questions. It is not clear whether the movement is *sui generis* or the result of Pakistan's own involvement in Afghan affairs. Many observers describe the Pakistani movement as a simple extension of its Afghan counterpart and see its emergence in Pakistan as evidence of a fundamentalist push in the region that threatens an already fragile Pakistani polity and, with it, the stability of the entire region.

The Pakistani Taliban arose in a gradual process made possible by the oscillation between military operations and "peace agreements" in the area from 2004 to 2006. The former provided the Taliban and their al-Qaida allies with local support that would have been more difficult to mobilize otherwise; the latter gave them the opportunity to reorganize and extend their networks.

One group, the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan, deserves particular attention, not merely because it was held responsible by the Pakistani government for the December 2007 assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (although its leader, Baitullah Mehsud, denied any responsibility). More importantly, this organization now seems to control the entire Taliban movement in Pakistan. The TTP's main objectives are to enforce Sharia (Islamic law), unite against NATO forces in Afghanistan and perform defensive jihad against the Pakistan army.

Although its name was not new, the group surfaced in its present form last December. Essentially an umbrella

organization, it has regrouped existing local militant formations covering a vast geographic area, including all of the FATA's seven tribal agencies and a number of districts in the settled areas of the NWFP. Today the TTP is said to have some 5,000 combatants, although it remains difficult to assess its real strength. Local youth sometimes join the militants as a way of earning a living or enhancing their social importance and power, according to reports by the International Crisis Group.

Current estimates of the insurgents' strength are sharply higher than those of a year earlier. In December 2006, the ICG estimated the total number of militants in the FATA at about 1,100: 100 hardened foreign fanatics and 1,000 local accomplices. There were 25 to 35 local militant groups in North and South Waziristan. The phenomenon clearly took a new turn in 2007, with the networking of the many small militant groups operating in the FATA, who were, in turn, soon joined by many other extremist groups banned in Pakistan.

Because the October 2005 Pakistan earthquake exposed their training camps, militants belonging to organizations of national importance such as the Jaish-e-Mohammad or the Lashkar-e-Toiba, heavily trained in guerilla operations by the Pakistani military for operations in Kashmir, also found their way to the FATA. Displaced by the ISI and relocated to the FATA and NWFP, where they were supposed to be less visible, they escaped the control of their sponsors and soon found themselves fighting the Pakistani military.

One Taliban, or Two?

The TTP's link with the organization of Taliban Supreme Leader Mullah Omar in Afghanistan is unclear. The decrease in the number of attacks against NATO forces in Afghanistan since 2007 is sometimes attributed to the TTP engagement in Pakistan, as if the guerrillas on the two sides of the border were one movement. But this does not constitute evidence of any unity of command.

The organizations that comprise the TTP certainly support and are inspired by the Afghan Taliban. Former commanders such as the late Nek Mohammad and Abdullah Mehsud participated in the jihad against the Soviets, and later resisted the Northern Alliance. Yet organizational links were always thin and remain limited today. This is not to dispute the claim, articulated by Harvard's Hassan Abbas in the January *CTC Sentinel*, the online monthly of West Point's Combating Terrorism

Center, that the TTP is bound to refocus on Afghanistan “if and when its position strengthens in the FATA and the NWFP.”

The real question is whether the ongoing insurgency in Pakistan will convince its military and intelligence authorities to renounce their support for the Taliban in Afghanistan. The militants have now clearly turned to attacks against domestic military organizations. As Abbas notes, “of the 56 suicide bombings in Pakistan in 2007, 36 were against military related targets, including two against the ISI; two against the army headquarters in Rawalpindi; one aimed at the air force in Sargodha; and one directed at the facility of the Special Service Group in Tarbela.” Yet Pakistan seems to be still supporting the Quetta Shura — the Afghan Taliban’s most important leadership council, headed by Mullah Omar — as well as its traditional protégés such as the Haqqani family (Jallaluddin and his son Sirajuddin) and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

Mullah Omar himself has highlighted divergences between the two movements, saying that the struggle was in Afghanistan, not in Pakistan. Though partially overlapping, the two insurgencies are clearly going in different directions: one is targeting Pakistan or, more precisely, army units suspected to have been involved in the July 2007 assault against the militants who had found refuge in the Red Mosque in Islamabad; the other is targeting Afghanistan. There is every reason to believe that if eliminating the former has at last become a priority for the Pakistani military, the latter is still considered legitimate and worth supporting.

Potential Impact of the Pakistani Elections

In this context, the results of the March Pakistani elections could have a significant impact. They brought to power the Pakistan People’s Party in Islamabad and the Awami National Party in the NWFP, a Pashtun-majority province bordering Afghanistan. Both organizations were cooperating even before the elections to bring about a positive change in relations between the two countries. The late former Pakistan prime minister and PPP chief Benazir Bhutto had met Pres. Karzai only a few hours before she was murdered; and ANP leader Afsandiyar Wali Khan maintains excellent relationships with the Afghan leadership. Most mainstream political parties, including the PPP and the ANP, focused their electoral campaign on the maintenance of peace and gained a clear popular mandate on that basis.

They will, however, be constrained on two sides. Peace has been understood by the electorate as a rejection of Musharraf and his allies’ strategies. But the U.S. is unlikely to accept any deals like those made by the Pakistani president between 2004 and 2006, which led to the consolidation and strengthening of the Taliban in the FATA. Eliminating al-Qaida and its allies remains an American priority, so the new Pakistani government risks facing considerable pressure from Washington if its policies fail to deliver on this front.

The second difficulty will be related to the evolution of civil-military relations in Pakistan itself. Although the present chief of army staff, General Pervez Kiyani, observed a surprising neutrality in the February elections — indicating an interest in restoring the military’s public image and professionalism — it remains unclear whether he is ready to accept a more decisive role in the definition of Pakistan’s national interest and the formulation of its security policies. More specifically, though he seems willing to combat terrorism on Pakistan’s soil, it remains unclear whether he will also be willing to stop Islamabad’s support for the Taliban in Afghanistan, which he previously orchestrated as director general of the ISI.

In short, there is a total asymmetry of priorities among the three main actors on the Pakistani side of the equation. The political parties want a normalization of relations with Afghanistan, are willing to bring peace to the area and, reflecting the views of the electorate, do not necessarily see the fight against al-Qaida as a priority. For the U.S., by contrast, eliminating that group prevails over every other consideration. Despite official rhetoric, even stability in Afghanistan is secondary to this primary focus; or, more precisely, stability in Afghanistan is important only to the extent that it is a precondition to preclude its becoming again a sanctuary for al-Qaida. Finally, the Pakistan Army wants a degree of normalization with Afghanistan, but is not necessarily ready to renounce the means of pressure on the Afghan government that the Taliban constitutes. It also sees the fight against al-Qaida essentially as a means to buy Western good will.

The outcome will depend on the compromises reached among these three actors. The various statements by the new Pakistani government announcing that the border fight against the Taliban will continue certainly reflect a realization that there is no going back as far as the Pakistani Taliban is concerned. But that is not an indication that Pakistan will change its strategy in Afghanistan itself.

Heading toward Normalization?

A complete normalization of relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan will necessarily require a complex set of compromises as well as deeper structural changes. The first priority is obviously to lessen tensions between the two countries. Relations have improved since 2007, but are still far from healthy.

Mutual recognition of the current border between the two countries, requested by Islamabad but refused by Kabul, is probably impossible in the short term because it is unacceptable to the Afghan Pashtun population. However, should the Afghan government be politically strengthened, it could then explore the feasibility of a "soft border" between the two countries, where people on both sides could move freely as they have done historically.

Ultimately, Pakistan will have to be given the security guarantees that it has been seeking since its independence in 1947; in particular, the assurance that Afghanistan will never enter an alliance with India directed against Pakistan, nor try to mobilize the substantial Paki-

stani Pashtun minority against Islamabad. Normalization of relations with Afghanistan will therefore be a bilateral process, but one that is highly dependent on a complete normalization of Islamabad's relations with India.

The U.S. should expect to play no more than a facilitating role, helping to diminish Pakistani anxieties by using its influence with both Afghanistan and India. The Bush administration's controversial 2005 decision to help Pakistan modernize its army, expressed in U.S. willingness to sell F-16 fighter planes to Islamabad, could also be used to induce it to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward Afghanistan.

Such assistance, however, must be conditional. Before the sale of F-16s, Pakistan must clearly renounce all ties to the Taliban and their allies, and hand over the leadership of the Taliban and al-Qaida in order to prove its good faith. The modernization of its army could be the reward, but it cannot be a prerequisite.

Throughout this process, the sequencing will be as important as the content of any potential agreement. ■



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“GRACE UNDER PRESSURE:” JOHN PATON DAVIES

TWO THREATS A DECADE APART — ONE PHYSICAL, THE OTHER POLITICAL —
SEVERELY TESTED CHINA HAND JOHN DAVIES.

By BOB RACKMALES

On Sept. 7, 1948, Secretary of State George C. Marshall awarded the Medal of Freedom to John Paton Davies Jr., a 40-year-old Foreign Service officer who had joined his friend George Kennan on State's Policy Planning Staff one year earlier. The medal's citation noted that it was being awarded for “exceptional and meritorious service in China and India from March 1942 until December 1944.”

One episode from August 1943 was singled out for special mention: “The passengers on the plane in which he was flying en route from India to China were forced to bail out in territory inhabited only by savages. Mr. Davies' resourcefulness and leadership were in large measure responsible for the eventual rescue of the party. His conduct during this period was in the highest traditions of the Service.”

In his autobiography, *Dragon by the Tail* (Norton, 1972), Davies devotes only a brief paragraph to the three-week ordeal that he endured, along with 18 others, including CBS correspondent Eric Sevareid, following the crash of their C-46 aircraft in a remote area on the India-Burma border. Written with his characteristic nonchalance about physical danger, Davies mainly expresses his admiration for the abili-

ty of an agent from the Office of Strategic Services (precursor to the CIA) to complete the jump without breaking the bottle of gin he was carrying.

Fortunately for historians, Sevareid's autobiography, *Not So Wild a Dream* (Knopf, 1946), contains an entire 50-page chapter about the events that occurred between Aug. 2, 1943, the day of the crash, and Aug. 23, when the survivors stumbled into the Indian border town of Mokokchung. His account of the dangers the group faced and Davies' key role in helping them survive is valuable evidence of the extreme risks of service in Asia during World War II. More importantly, this episode would make Sevareid a compelling witness for the defense in the 1950s, when politically inspired accusations against Davies' loyalty shifted to attacks on his character and suitability as a Foreign Service officer.

Davies and Stilwell

Born in China in 1908 to missionary parents, John Davies (he rarely used his middle name and was called Jack by his friends) entered the Foreign Service via examination in 1931. Following two brief consular assignments in Windsor, Ontario, and Kunming, China (which, coincidentally, would be the destination of his ill-fated flight a decade later), Davies arrived in Peking (now Beijing) in September 1933 to begin two years of Chinese-language training. Near the end of his stay there, he met the new military attaché, “a skinny little colonel” named Joseph Stilwell, whose knowledge of China (he had served there in the 1920s under George C. Marshall) and “cheerfully sardonic attitude” impressed the similarly inclined Davies.

Between the fall of 1935 and May 1938, Davies served as vice consul in Mukden (now Shenyang), Manchuria, an

Bob Rackmales' 32-year Foreign Service career (1963-1995) included assignments in Lagos, Zagreb, Mogadishu, Trieste, Rome, Kaduna, Belgrade and Washington, D.C. A member of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations and the Board of Directors of the Camden Conference on Foreign Relations, he teaches courses on U.S. diplomatic history at Belfast (Maine) Senior College.

assignment he had requested despite its being “a wretched place, with the Chinese cowering under Japanese occupation and the Japanese corrupted by conquest.” His next post, Hankow (now Wuhan), was at that time the temporary location of the U.S. embassy in China.

There, Stilwell and several other military officers were frequent dinner guests at Davies’ spacious apartment. However, the largest contingent at his gatherings were journalists, a group to which Davies, who had initially aspired to be a reporter, felt particularly drawn. When the embassy moved on to the new Chinese capital at Chungking (now Chongqing) a few months later, Davies stayed behind, under conditions of considerable danger, to protect U.S. interests under the new Japanese occupation.

After nearly a decade in the Foreign Service, Davies began his first assignment in Washington on the China desk in October 1940. It quickly struck him that working in the State Department at that time had decided drawbacks. First, Davies’ supervisors did not inspire respect (one “possessed the virtues of a model head clerk,” the other was “not much more than a vigorous pedant”). Second, he was put off by the parochialism he encountered in the department. Arabists looked down on Asian specialists, while European specialists looked down on everybody else; within the Far Eastern Division, Japan hands and China hands viewed each other with mutual suspicion. Third, and most importantly, the White House’s lack of regard for the department had made it a backwater, to the point where Davies found working there “stupefying.”

A fourth drawback, of which Davies was unaware at the time, was the risk of inadvertent exposure to Soviet agents. One of his colleagues in the Far Eastern Division was a “tweedy young man” named Alger Hiss, who, perhaps fortunately for Davies, “did not invite familiarity.” His job also involved contacts with Lauchlin Currie, a White House special assistant whom Roosevelt had put in charge of Lend Lease for China. Currie was first accused of Soviet ties in 1945, and KGB records released in the 1990s confirmed that he was indeed in close touch with Soviet agents, though whether he himself became an agent is a matter of dispute. Finally, in a bizarre coincidence, Duncan Lee, executive assistant to OSS chief William Donovan and perhaps the most highly placed Soviet agent ever in a U.S. intelligence agency, was the fellow passenger whose skill as a parachutist was noted by Davies in his autobiography.

The Dec. 7, 1941, Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor crystallized Davies’ dissatisfaction and intensified his desire to make a more direct contribution to the war effort.

Fortuitously, three weeks later he had dinner with Stilwell, now a major general, who had been selected to command the invasion of North Africa. Eager to be as close to the action as possible, and to work for someone whom he respected, Davies suggested the possibility of joining Stilwell as an adviser. The idea was clearly to the general’s liking, even more so when his assignment was suddenly shifted, to his regret, to the command of a new China-Burma-India theater. With Davies, Stilwell acquired the services not only of a friend, but of an officer whose on-the-ground experience on both sides of the war in China exceeded that of anyone in U.S. government service.

General Joseph Stilwell’s knowledge of China and “cheerfully sardonic attitude” impressed the similarly inclined Davies.

Dropping in on the Nagas

As Stilwell’s political adviser, Davies divided his time between two headquarters: New Delhi, where the China-Burma-India theater command was located, and the Chinese capital at Chungking, where Stilwell served as chief of staff to Chiang Kai-shek. While Chungking was subject to Japanese air raids and health conditions were extremely poor, by far the most dangerous part of the job was the airborne commute over the Himalayas via the “Hump.” With the Japanese having cut the Burma Road in March 1942, this was the only option to get supplies, and often passengers, to allied forces in China.

Tellingly, the Air Force deemed the route “the most dangerous ever assigned to air transport.” During the second half of 1943 alone there were 155 crashes, a rate of nearly one a day. The risks came less from enemy air action than from a combination of rugged terrain, extreme altitude, unpredictable weather and severe shortages of spare parts and experienced, properly trained crews. Passengers were under no illusions regarding their safety. In his autobiography, Severeid recalls thinking to himself shortly before boarding: “If I had any real moral courage, I would refuse to get aboard.”

At about 8 a.m. on Monday, Aug. 2, 1943, the C-46 (a DC-3 in civilian life) carrying 14 U.S. military personnel, two Chinese officers and four U.S. civilians, including Davies and Severeid, took off from its base in Chabua, India. About one hour into the flight, while the plane was over the Patkai Mountains, a young corporal (“grinning broadly”) informed Severeid that the plane’s left engine had gone out. The pilots turned back toward India, but issued no instructions to the passengers.

As the crew began throwing passenger bags overboard in an attempt to gain altitude, Davies went to the cabin to try to get information, only to return shaking his head and telling Severeid, “No goddamn organization here.” As the cabin

became increasingly chaotic, with crew members frantically donning parachutes, it was Davies who finally broke “the impasse of general fear” by being the first to jump, followed immediately by Duncan Lee and five others. The disabled plane then barely cleared the ridgeline constituting the Burma-India border, and the remaining passengers, including Severeid, jumped just in time to avoid being trapped as it spun out of control (the co-pilot was the sole fatality).

The survivors now found themselves in one of the most remote and dangerous regions in Asia. Only six years had transpired since the first Western expedition had reached Pangsha, the Naga tribal village near which the survivors ultimately gathered. (Ponyo, the village on the Burma side where Davies had landed, had never been visited by Europeans.)

Christoph von Fuerer-Haimendorf, an Austrian anthropologist who took part in that first expedition, explained the reasons why the area was so little known. “The long seclusion of the Naga Hills has been due to ... the inhospitality of the country ... and the warlike character of the Naga tribes. ... Headhunting and frequent wars made ... traveling alone or even in small groups ... a venture little short of suicide.” Indeed, the purpose of the British expedition on which he had been an observer had been punitive — Pangsha warriors had been among the most feared in the area (“thick bundles of human heads” were found), and the village was burned as a warning.

As it turned out, during the two weeks that the survivors remained in Pangsha the villagers, despite their reputation, were generally helpful, even dutifully delivering the weapons that were airdropped to the party as a precaution. One factor that helped cement relations was the arrival on the afternoon of the day of the crash of Lt. Col. Donald Flickinger, a flight sur-

***“If ever again I were in
deep trouble, one man
I would want to be with
would be [Davies].”***

— *Eric Severeid*

geon who, on learning there was an injured member of the party, parachuted in with two other volunteers. After seeing to the needs of the injured survivors, Flickinger set up a clinic for the villagers, earning their gratitude. He also asked Davies to continue as the principal intermediary with the villagers. As Severeid later wrote, “He was the one we chose, for common sense and discretion, to deal with the touchy and dangerous Naga headhunters, our undecided hosts.”

In the absence of landing strips or roads, walking out of the area was the only option, and that was especially hazardous in August. Speaking before the Royal Geographical Society in 1938, von Fuerer-Haimendorf noted that “Traveling in the Naga Hills during the rains, which last from April to the end of September, is most unpleasant and can become extremely difficult when one leaves administered territory.” Leaving Pangsha on Aug. 18, escorted by a party of armed natives led by the British deputy commissioner of the Naga Hills, Philip Adams, the survivors struggled through a brutal six-day trek that taxed everyone to the limit.

While Flickinger did yeoman service on the medical front, Severeid credits Davies’ unflagging steadiness and humor with keeping up morale. “On the toughest parts of hills ... he will do loud, very funny variations on natives’ chants, which amuses them

greatly.” Summing up his view of Davies’ contribution throughout the ordeal, Severeid later wrote, “If ever again I were in deep trouble, one man I would want to be with would be this particular man.” For Severeid, Davies had defined grace under pressure.

“A Vicious Line Squall”

Dean Acheson used this phrase to describe the impact of Patrick J. Hurley, an Oklahoman who had served as Secretary of War under Herbert Hoover. Sent by Pres. Roosevelt in August 1944 to try to mediate the growing hostility between Gen. Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek, he eventually sided with Chiang and was named ambassador to China three months later, shortly after Washington’s decision to withdraw Stilwell. Acheson found it hard to conceal his dislike of Hurley: “Trouble moved with him like a cloud of flies around a steer.”

Although his tenure as ambassador lasted only one year, Hurley managed to inflict enormous damage on China policy, on the Truman administration, on the Foreign Service and on the careers and lives of Davies and the other “China hands,” whose reporting and policy assessments provoked his wrath. On Jan. 9, 1945, Hurley accused Davies to his face of being a communist and “roared at the top of his lungs that he was going to have him thrown out of the State Department” — a bitter foretaste of the McCarthy era to come.

The long, sad, tangled story of the inquisition Davies and the others endured over the next decade has often been told. Readers are encouraged to visit the very helpful Web site of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (www.usdiplomacy.org/history/service/chinahands.php) for an excellent summary with links to other sources. The classic book by *New Yorker* writer E.J. Kahn, *The China Hands: America’s Foreign*

Service Officers and What Befell Them, provides a gripping account. Despite its title, James Lilley's more recent *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia* ignores the Foreign Service China hands.

Kahn is one of a long series of journalists who have found Davies a compelling subject. He returned the favor, admitting that "on the whole, I found newsmen more engaging and stimulating than most of my colleagues." The list of distinguished journalists who were his friends includes at least three Pulitzer Prize winners:

Theodore H. White. Best remembered today for his *Making of the President* series, White was a noted war correspondent for *Time* magazine in China, and became one of Davies' closest friends. His experience as a witness on Davies' behalf before a State Department Security Hearing Board in 1954 was so traumatic for him that he abandoned foreign reporting entirely — a decision he later confessed made him "ashamed."

Barbara Wertheim. Better known under her married name, Barbara Tuchman, she got to know Davies and Stilwell as a 23-year-old correspondent in China. She won Pulitzer Prizes in history for both *Stilwell and the American Experience in China 1911-1945* (for which Davies was a key source) and *The Guns of August*. She was the featured speaker at the AFSA luncheon in January 1973, when the Foreign Service finally honored the China hands, "a group of Foreign Service officers ... whom history has recognized as having been right." (See sidebar, p. 50.)

David Halberstam. In *The Best and the Brightest*, the late journalist calls Davies "the best of a generation of Asian experts" and sees the loss of the insights he and his colleagues could have provided as contributing to the U.S. failure in Vietnam (a point

With the exception of George Kennan and a few others, his Foreign Service colleagues mostly preserved an embarrassed silence.

Tuchman and other historians have made). An extended character sketch in Chapter 18 is perhaps the most rounded portrait we have of Davies, pending publication of a long-overdue full-scale biography.

The Response to Davies' Dismissal

It took nearly a decade for Hurley's bellowed threat to be realized, but not for lack of trying: Eight separate panels would investigate and clear Davies of disloyalty. But on Nov. 4, 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles announced Davies' dismissal because of an alleged "lack of judgment, discretion and reliability." Four days later, an outraged Eric Sevareid used his nationally syndicated broadcast to issue a pungent rejoinder:

"I have known a great number of men around the world, under all manner of circumstances. I have known none who seemed more the whole man ... all that a man should be — in modesty and thoughtfulness, in resourcefulness and steady strength of character. The name of this man is John Paton Davies. He is the man Secretary of State Dulles ... has just broken on the wheel of official disgrace ... dismissed, three years short of retirement and pension, after giving 23 years of his life



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Why Policymakers Do Not Listen

By Barbara Tuchman

Editor's Note: On Jan. 30, 1973, historian Barbara Tuchman was the keynote speaker at an AFSA luncheon honoring Jack Service and the other China hands, including John Paton Davies. Excerpts from her remarks follow; for the full text, see the March 1973 Foreign Service Journal.

What I want to get at is a problem perhaps more abiding, and that is, why these men were not listened to even before they were persecuted.

The burden of their reports taken as a whole was that Chiang Kai-shek was on the way out and the communists on the way in, and that American policy, rather than cling in paralyzed attachment to the former, might be well advised to take this trend into account. This was implicit in reports from officers who had no contact with the communists but were united in describing the deterioration of the Kuomintang. It was made explicit by those who saw the communists at first hand, like Service in his remarkable reports from Yunan, and Ludden, who journeyed into the interior to observe the functioning of communist rule, and Davies, whose ear was everywhere. They were unequivocal in judging the communists to be the dynamic party in the country; in Davies' words in 1944, "China's destiny was not Chiang's but theirs." This was not subversion as our Red-hunters were to claim, but merely observation.

Any government that does not want to walk open-eyed into a quagmire, leading its country with it, would presumably re-examine its choices at such a point. That, after all, is what we employ Foreign Service officers for: to advise policymakers of actual conditions on which to base a realistic program. The agonizing question is, why is there a persistent gap between observers in the field and policymakers in the capital? While I cannot speak from experience, I would like to try to offer some answers as an outside assessor.

In the first place, policy is formed by preconceptions, by long-implanted biases. When information is relayed to policymakers they respond in terms of what is already in their heads and consequently

make policy less to fit the facts than to fit the notions and intentions formed out of the mental baggage that has accumulated in their minds since childhood. When President McKinley had to decide whether to annex the Philippines in 1898, he went down on his knees at midnight, according to his own account, and "prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance." He was accordingly guided to conclude that "there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace to do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ died."

Actually the main impulse at work was the pressure of the "manifest destiny" school for a stepping stone across the Pacific, but the mental baggage of a president in the 1890s required him to act in terms of Almighty God and the White Man's Burden, just as the mental fix of his successors in our time has required them to react in terms of anticommunism. Closer observers than Almighty God could have informed McKinley that the Filipinos had no strong desire to be Christianized or civilized or exchange Spanish rule for American, but rather to gain their independence. This being overlooked, we soon found ourselves engaged not in civilizing but in a cruel and bloody war of repression, much to our embarrassment. Failure to take into account the nature of the other party often has an awkward result. . . .

This desire not to listen to unhappy truths — "Don't confuse me with facts" — is only human and widely shared by chiefs of state. Was not the bearer of bad news often killed by ancient kings? Chiang Kai-shek's vindictive reaction to unpleasant news was such that his ministers gradually ceased to bring him any, with the result

that he lived in a fantasy.

[FSOs'] reports must also pass through a screen of psychological factors at the receiving end: temperament, or private ambitions, or the fear of not appearing masterful, or a ruler's inner sense that his manhood is at stake. (This is a male problem that, fortunately, does not trouble women — which might be one advantage of having a woman in high office. Whatever inner inadequacy may gnaw at a women's vitals, it does not compel her to compensate by showing how tough she is. You might cite Golda Meir in objection, but one gets the impression that her toughness is natural rather than neurotic, besides required by the circumstances.)

Proving his manhood was, I imagine, a factor pushing President Nasser of Egypt into provoking war with Israel in 1967 so that he could not be accused of weakness or appear less militant than the Syrians. One senses it as a factor in the personalities of Johnson and Nixon in regard to withdrawing from Vietnam; there was that horrid doubt: "Shall I look soft?" It was clearly present in Kennedy, too; on the other hand, it does not seem to have bothered Eisenhower, Truman or FDR.

A classic case of man's temperament obscuring the evidence is brought out by John Davies in his recent book, *Dragon by the Tail*. Stalin's greatest error, he points out, was to underestimate Chinese communism. "He was deceived by his own cynicism. He did not think Mao could make it because, astonishingly enough, of his own too little faith in the power of a people's war." . . .

National myths are another obstacle in the way of realism. The American instinct of activism, the "can do" myth, has lately led us into evil that was not necessary and has blotted the American record beyond

the power of time to whiten. Stewart Alsop made the interesting point Sunday [Jan. 28, 1973] in the *New York Times Book Review* that American presidents since Roosevelt have disliked the State Department and leaned heavily on the military because the military tend to be brisk, can-do problem-solvers while senior Foreign Service officers tend to be “skeptical examiners of the difficulties”; and worried, uncertain presidents will prefer positive to negative advice. You will notice that this reliance on military advice coincides with the era of air power and has much to do, I think, with the enormous attraction of the easy solution — the idea that a horrid problem can be solved from the air, without contact, without getting mixed up in a long, dirty business on the ground. ...

The costliest myth of our time has been the myth of the communist monolith. We now discover happily, if belatedly, that the supposed Sino-Soviet unity is, in fact, a bitter antagonism of two rivals wrapped in hate, fear and mutual suspicion. Our original judgment never had much to do with facts, but was rather a reflection of fears and prejudices. Knee-jerk reactions of this kind are not the best guide to a useful foreign policy, which I would define as the conduct of relations and exercise of influence so as best to serve an enlightened self-interest.

The question remains, what can be done to narrow the gap between information from the field and policymaking at home. First, it is essential to maintain the integrity of Foreign Service reporting, not only for the sake of what may get through, but to provide the basis for a change of policy when the demand becomes imperative. Second, some means must be found to require that preconceived notions and emotional fixations be periodically tested against the evidence. Perhaps legislation could be enacted to enforce a regular pause for rethinking, for questioning the wisdom of an accepted course of action, for cutting one's losses if necessary. ■

*Eight separate panels
would investigate and
clear Davies of
disloyalty before State
finally dismissed him on
Nov. 4, 1954.*

— and almost life itself — in the arduous service of his government. Eight times he was investigated ... One by one the politically inspired charges of communism, disloyalty or perjury were dropped; the ninth board came up with something new, called defects of character. Mr. Davies is not, concluded the board and Mr. Dulles, of sufficient judgment, discretion and reliability. Sufficient, one may ask, unto what? Their test can only have been of supernatural design. I saw their victim measured against the most severe tests that mortal man can design. Those he passed. At the head of the class.”

Unlike the many journalists and editorial writers who came to Davies' defense, his Foreign Service colleagues mostly preserved an embarrassed silence. The department's legal adviser, who was assisting Davies and other China hands in preparing their defense, commented in disgust that State was a “gutless place.” To reinforce this quiescence, Dulles appointed Loy Henderson, a man who had “impeccable credentials with the McCarthyites,” as under secretary for administration, to exercise only nominal supervision over Security Director Scott McLeod (whose motto was “an ounce of security is worth a pound of brains”). The striking exception to this timidity was the

FSO who was in the best position to attest not only to Davies' character, but to his loyalty and professional integrity: George Kennan.

Kennan and Davies had first met in the spring of 1937, when Davies visited the embassy in Moscow and was invited to lunch by Kennan and his wife Anneliese. Davies later said of the lunch, which took place as Stalin's show trials were occurring, “This was the first lesson in Russian psychology and communist politics that I was to receive from an extraordinarily gifted colleague, teacher and friend.”

Kennan, for his part, admired Davies' “broad, sophisticated and skeptical political understanding, without an ounce of pro-communist sympathies.” He was delighted to have Davies join his staff in Moscow in January 1945, where he became, in Kennan's words, “a rock of strength.” He would also be the first person Kennan asked to join the new Policy Planning Office in Washington when it was established with Kennan as director on April 29, 1947. The two men worked very closely together until Kennan's resignation as director on Dec. 31, 1949. In the view of Wilson Miscamble, the leading historian of the Policy Planning Office staff, Davies was an “equal partner in helping frame Kennan's policy advice on China, Japan and Southeast Asia.”

In the chapter on McCarthyism in the second volume of his memoirs, Kennan relates six separate interventions on Davies' behalf that he undertook, beginning in the summer of 1951, when he paid his own way back from Europe to testify for Davies at two separate hearings. Despite being discouraged by the department from making his views public, he subsequently wrote letters to *Time* magazine and the *New York Times*, and gave a widely reported speech on the dangers of McCarthyism at Notre Dame University. As a result of these

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efforts, Kennan himself was hauled before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, an experience he describes as “traumatic” and “Kafkaesque.”

Kennan was among the first figures to draw attention to the dangers of the McCarthyite onslaught — not just to the targeted individuals, or to civil liberties, but to the integrity of the Foreign Service itself. His July 1955 *Foreign Affairs* article, “The Future of Our Professional Diplomacy,” states in stark terms his fears for the morale and effectiveness of the career Service under a security regime he suggested had been inspired by “the totalitarians.” When Averell Harriman described the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, which he took over in late 1961, as “a disaster area filled with human wreckage,” and when John F. Kennedy called the State Department a “bowl of jelly,” they were bluntly confirming the cogency of Kennan’s analysis.

In one of the great ironies of Cold War history, it fell to the prosecutor of Alger Hiss and scourge of liberals, Richard M. Nixon, to pick up the policy threads that the China hands had tried to weave and finally permit the lifting of the cloud of suspicion hanging over their heads. Davies probably flashed one of his sardonic smiles when he learned that one of the few prestigious journalists to win a coveted spot on the presidential plane carrying Nixon to his historic meeting with Mao was his old friend and defender, Eric Sevareid.

Since AFSA paid tribute to the China hands a third of a century ago, their reputation has been further enhanced and that of their detractors further diminished. In 1973, many bemoaned the consequences of their loss to American diplomacy. Surely it is time now to be more positive and emphasize their enduring importance as role models for a 21st-century Foreign Service. ■

SPRING IN PRAGUE — 40 YEARS AGO

A WITNESS TO THE SHORT-LIVED CZECHOSLOVAK REFORM MOVEMENT'S TRAGIC
DENOUEMENT IN AUGUST 1968 ASSESSES ITS LEGACY.

BY KENNETH N. SKOUG

By dark of night on Aug. 20, 1968, armed forces of the Soviet Union and four of its allies entered and occupied Czechoslovakia, putting an abrupt end to the seven-month era known as the “Prague Spring.” After months of tergiversation, the Kremlin decided that Alexander Dubcek’s self-styled “socialism with a human face” posed an intolerable challenge to Moscow’s vital interests and had to be terminated by military force. The action-forcing event was an extraordinary Communist Party congress scheduled to begin Sept. 9, 1968, in Prague, a session the Soviets rightly feared would lead to an even more progressive Czechoslovak leadership.

Dubcek, a Slovak who had grown up in the Soviet Union and received special training there, had been elected first secretary of the central committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on Jan. 5, 1968. An unlikely leader in a state long dominated by Czechs, he was a compromise candidate to resolve an internal party crisis. Dubcek was selected to replace dictator Antonin Novotny, who had ruled the country for nearly 20 years and was on the verge of launching a new and predictably harsh purge to protect himself from his critics. The latter included the country’s brilliant intellectuals, economic reformers, students and, especially, Slovaks angry about the extreme centralism and despotic

intolerance with which Novotny had governed the country.

Ironically, at the climax of the party struggle — the critical nature of which was known to few outsiders — Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, came to Prague at Novotny’s invitation. The dreaded Czechoslovak security service and the military stood ready to rescue Novotny by force if he gave the signal. But Novotny did not get the Soviet imprimatur he needed.

Brezhnev could have decided to leave in place a tyrant who had long been a faithful Soviet lackey, but instead he heeded the bilingual Dubcek and another Czechoslovak leader who hoped to replace Novotny. He left the matter to the Czech and Slovak comrades to decide. They promptly ousted Novotny in favor of Dubcek. But in mid-August 1968, Brezhnev and his colleagues in the Kremlin reached a different conclusion.

An Explosion of Spontaneity

The explosion of spontaneity that began on Jan. 5, 1968, had little to do with anything Dubcek said or wrote. It was touched off by the shock felt within senior Communist Party ranks at how close they had come to a new purge. They vowed at once and publicly to strive for “democracy,” by which they meant greater openness in party ranks, but which was understood in broader terms by the nation. The other primary source was the mass media that had been totally docile in 1967, but that now sensed the lid was off as far as what could be published.

By permitting and welcoming the unforeseen and unprecedented expression of public opinion, Dubcek won,

Kenneth N. Skoug, a retired FSO, was the economic/commercial officer in Prague from 1967 to 1969. He is the author of Czechoslovakia’s Lost Fight for Freedom: An Embassy Perspective (Greenwood, 1999).

in turn, the enthusiastic applause of an appreciative population. Most of his fellow citizens came quickly to hail him for his own qualities — particularly his tolerance of diversity — not just as the successor to the hated Novotny. When Josef Smrkovsky, a former radical communist who had been humanized by prison, wrote an article in a leading Czechoslovak journal urging that the truth be told, whatever the consequences, the nation took him at his word. A democratic society was re-emerging from the ashes.

Now newspapers that could not have been given away in 1967 began to publish enough interesting material to make their sale swift. Television began to report without the “party spirit” of agitation-propaganda that had been a hallmark of the communist system. It sampled public opinion — and the public agreed to speak up — demonstrating thereby that the citizens of a country dominated for 20 years by dictatorship knew precisely what democracy meant.

Sixteen thousand young Czechs listened while Smrkovsky and two other reformers responded to their questions in a six-hour marathon. Others, including non-communists, asked for the formation of a new political party or at least a share in how they were to be governed. Those jailed by Novotny organized to press for redress and rehabilitation. Thousands marched to Lany to put flowers on the graves of the Masaryks and to ask questions about the supposed suicide of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk 20 years earlier. University students denounced the central youth organization that had been a mere transmission belt for the dictatorship. They organized instead to represent their own interests.

Big Brother Reacts

This was not music to all ears. Novotny, still president of the repub-

The explosion of spontaneity that began on Jan. 5, 1968, had little to do with anything Dubcek said or wrote.

lic, made a warning speech to factory workers timed with the commemoration of the February 1948 Prague Coup, when Brezhnev, East German dictator Walter Ulbricht and other prominent foreign communists would be present. Our embassy was told that if the “bad guys” came back, heads would roll. Novotny would not be the bad guy, however, for he was driven from office in March, partially by the startling defection to the United States of a sybaritic military officer with many inside stories to relate.

Dubcek and his colleagues replaced him with a retired general officer, Ludvik Svoboda (whose surname meant freedom in both Czech and Russian), who had the additional cachet of being a hero of the USSR. They felt such insurance was needed because the new Czechoslovak leadership had been subjected (on March 26) to heavy criticism by leaders of other Warsaw Pact countries in a conference in Dresden. This was the first whiff of August.

Although chastened, Czechoslovak leaders continued on course. Their progress reached a climax on May Day 1968 — a day traditionally dedicated to ideologically correct demonstrations in the socialist camp — when a grinning, waving Dubcek was hailed by hundreds of thousands of marching Czechs and Slovaks as their

friendly neighborhood communist. That night he was summoned to Moscow by Brezhnev, whose bushy eyebrows were furrowed with concern. Within a week, Moscow convened a Warsaw Pact meeting — without Czechoslovakia.

A crisis lay ahead. As early as January 1968, our embassy had warned Washington that democracy would eventually run into the “leading role” of the Communist Party, the heart and soul of dictatorship. As a lifelong communist, Dubcek, of course, knew well about the leading role; but as a tolerant man whose socialist face was full of human emotion, he chose to interpret it in a didactic sense. The party should teach, edify, illuminate, admonish if necessary, but not just command. That would strengthen, not weaken, the party, he insisted.

The Russians listened. They liked their “Sasha.” But they were not buying his argument. Public dissent and publication of unpalatable opinions were not acceptable in socialist society, in their view.

Late spring and early summer saw military maneuvers, followed by an ominous letter from a five-power meeting in Warsaw where the five warned that socialism was not something with which Czechoslovakia was free to meddle. Meanwhile Czechoslovak citizens, their patriotic impulses spurred by the outside threat, called on their leadership to stand firmly by the “post-January” course. Having achieved even a limited taste of freedom, they were not ready to give in. The Czechoslovak leadership, which contained covert critics of Dubcek, was caught between domestic public opinion and the menace from neighboring states.

The Tanks of August

Counting correctly on some high-level support in the Czechoslovak leadership, the Politburo struck

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*Counting correctly
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 support in the
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 late on Aug. 20, 1968.*
 =====

late on Aug. 20, 1968. The military aspect went almost flawlessly. Dubcek and other top Czechoslovak leaders were seized before daybreak and sent on one-way trips to Ukraine. The Russians also counted on a submissive population. But although there was shock aplenty, there was no awe when civilians, on their way to work on the morning of Aug. 21, found themselves in an occupied country. Whatever their expectations, the Soviet armed forces who invaded a peaceful country were liberators only in their own eyes.

Czechoslovak passive resistance, abetted by mobile radio transmitters, was total and made known to the world. The crucial party congress the Russians had come to forestall was held under their noses in a Prague factory by pre-selected delegates who dressed as workers or arrived in ambulances dressed as doctors or nurses. The delegates swiftly elected a new and more progressive central committee. Every Czech and Slovak, it seemed, was demanding the return of their kidnapped leaders.

Although the Soviet hero who was president of Czechoslovakia was obliged by the national resistance to reject the quisling government presented to him, he chose on his own

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authority and against the advice of almost all his colleagues to go to Moscow to negotiate with the Kremlin. He was warmly welcomed by Brezhnev, who used Svoboda's presence to convince thousands of Russians watching their caravan come up Leninskiy Prospekt in Moscow that Soviet forces had rescued socialism from its enemies.

Svoboda returned to Prague on Aug. 27, bringing back the kidnapped leaders but also a bilateral "agreement" that was immediately recognized by a shocked country as total capitulation. Dubcek, having convinced himself that he could help stave off the worst, became a reluctant collaborator in a process known as "normalization." Josef Smrkovsky, now chairman of the Czechoslovak Parliament, told the truth to the end, arguing for Czechoslovak national unity — but the Soviets saw this as a code name for resistance. They isolated and ultimately disposed of him.

It nevertheless required a provocation adroitly organized by the Czech Ministry of the Interior to force the resignation of Dubcek as the last symbol of the Prague Spring. The Czech security forces, in conjunction with the KGB, took advantage of a huge patriotic demonstration in the heart of Prague in late March 1969 to smash and destroy the Aeroflot and Intourist offices in Prague, an act to which I was an eyewitness. Dubcek was replaced in April, after 15 months as first secretary of the party, by Gustav Husak, another Slovak and a self-styled realist who had played a "Slovak card" to undermine the last vestiges of the Prague Spring.

The Embassy During the Crisis

Our small embassy (10 FSOs, two military attachés, a small CIA station, secretaries, communicators and Marine guards) had been a main target in the gloomy second half of 1967, when

The reaction of individuals at the top level of the U.S. government to the August events was not a shining moment of American diplomacy.

its mission of building bridges to Czechoslovakia was impeded by the regime's need to find a foreign culprit for its internal problems. Even in 1968 things were not much better, as the largely unreformed Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry — which U.S. Ambassador Jacob Beam rightly termed "mischief-making" — tried to pacify Moscow by accentuating differences with the United States. Czechoslovakia continued to be the number-three purveyor of military assistance to North Vietnam and helpfully organized disruptive protests around the embassy. But through quiet diplomacy, the embassy had nevertheless been building bridges to economic reformers, intellectuals and other receptive progressives. The informed population regarded us as friends.

The embassy covered the invasion on the streets of Prague from the first report that Soviet aircraft (250 of them, landing audibly one minute apart) were transporting troops and armor to crush the Prague Spring. We were on the street well before dawn on Aug. 21, and throughout the invasion, to provide the department with timely first-hand reporting on what was transpiring, particularly the mag-

nificent passive resistance of the population.

Our primary obligation was to American citizens, of course. Those few embassy wives still in Prague, including mine, opened the embassy commissary to feed hungry citizens flocking there. Many were billeted by our Marines. On Aug. 22, the embassy organized a convoy to deliver American citizens to the West German border. Hundreds remained, however, and the Foreign Ministry was unwilling or unable to help. The airport was closed, and the main railway station occupied by Soviet troops.

At the request of Amb. Beam, I placed a direct phone call later that day to a vice minister of transport with whom I was acquainted. By luck I got him on the line and asked for a special train to take out Americans and other foreigners. I thought he would inquire if I knew there was a war on. Instead, he responded affirmatively but said the train would have to depart southward from an alternate station. Our stalwart consular section organized the evacuation of those wishing to travel, and the train rescued hundreds of trapped and worried citizens and foreigners alike.

Our reward came in the wee hours of Aug. 26, 1968, when we learned that the attic of the chancery — where most of us also resided — was on fire. The Prague fire department could not help because of a Soviet curfew prohibiting any movement by night. With the leadership of a single gallant seabee and a solitary fire hose, supplemented by a bucket brigade up slippery, smoke-filled stairs, we battled for three hours in the darkness to save the chancery from destruction while our dependents waited outside, ready to evacuate the premises if necessary.

Washington, Moscow and Prague

The reaction of individuals at the top level of the U.S. government to

the events of August was not a shining moment in the annals of American diplomacy. Well aware by the summer of 1968 that the United States could not use military force to help Czechoslovakia, the Johnson administration was anxious to deflect any charge that we were involved in developments there. Only with reluctance, and to be able to respond to Republican criticism, did Secretary of State Dean Rusk summon Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin on a single occasion to say that public opinion in the United States was "beginning" to view the situation with alarm.

In reality, our use of force was precluded. In addition, a compelling reason for this exaggerated restraint was the hope of Lyndon Johnson and Rusk to conclude an ill-starred administration with a trip to Leningrad, where Johnson and Soviet Premier Kosygin would promote détente and arms control. This would have permitted Johnson to leave office as a peacemaker. The Soviets milked this desire with their customary craft.

On the night of Aug. 19, with the invasion about to commence, Dobrynin, Washington's favorite Russian, conveyed Kosygin's invitation to a happy LBJ while quaffing champagne on the presidential yacht *Sequoia*. When Dobrynin called at the White House the next evening to inform Johnson and Rusk that Soviet forces were entering Czechoslovakia, the president thanked Dobrynin for his courtesy, promised to study the diplomatic note with great attention and to be back in touch. After that there was good will and even some shared laughter.

The first telegrams the department sent warned our allies not to overreact. Supposedly excitable West Germans were especially advised to keep away from the frontier. Our representatives in international meetings, especially those concerning disarmament or arms control, were not to raise this

***Dobrynin conveyed
Kosygin's invitation
to a happy LBJ while
quaffing champagne
on the presidential
yacht Sequoia.***

allegedly extraneous matter unless the Soviets did so first, in which case our representatives were to keep their responses brief.

Speaking to Dobrynin, Rusk referred to Czechoslovakia as a "dead fish" with which we had been slapped in the face. More than once, he informed third-country officials that we had raised the issue in the United Nations only because a small country had been attacked. We had not enjoyed good relations, he was careful to point out.

While Rusk's caution was perhaps understandable, it was regrettable that he was unable to recognize that the Prague Spring, now crushed by an invader's heels, had reflected the ardent aspirations of an entire nation. We had no way to help the Czechs, who had no useful friends and only disaffected "brothers," but we still should have sought a more appropriate way to express our dissatisfaction.

The Legacy

In New York, our representative in the United Nations, George Ball, did take note that the Soviet forces seemed to have come to Czechoslovakia searching for someone who had invited them. He commented that their brotherly help recalled the assis-

tance Cain had given Abel. Even this mild sarcasm brought a pained lament from Dobrynin to Rusk.

What did the Prague Spring achieve, aside from arousing false hopes in a country doomed to 20 more years of dictatorship? In November 1969, Embassy Moscow reported that the USSR had achieved all of its objectives in Czechoslovakia at an acceptably low cost. Most scholars thereafter agreed.

But the Russians paid a price for their shock tactics. In China, especially after the battle on the Ussuri River in the spring of 1969 and a Soviet hint that Chinese nuclear facilities at Lop Nor might be surgically removed, the Czechoslovak experience must have contributed to Beijing's growing awareness that the Soviet threat was not merely theoretical. This facilitated Richard Nixon's strategic breakthrough to China.

Moreover, the memory of the spring was not lost to human rights watchers in Helsinki after the Soviets achieved their wish for a conference on security and cooperation in Europe. Although the Brezhnev Doctrine was alive and well, memories of the Czechoslovak resistance made it more difficult for Moscow to contemplate the use of force against Poland. (The same cast of characters in Moscow should have remembered that lesson in 1979 before plunging into Afghanistan, where resistance would prove to be anything but passive.)

Obviously, Moscow was still the decider in that part of Europe. Only when a new generation was in office there, and when the Soviet Union was beset with other problems, could there be a Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia. Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, has written that Gorbachev was hoping the process would resemble the Prague Spring. If so, he was self-deceived, but we are all better off for the deception. ■

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2008 DISSENT AND PERFORMANCE AWARD WINNERS

Dissenters Honored with AFSA Awards

AFSA is proud to honor the winners of the 2008 Constructive Dissent and Outstanding Performance Awards. The awards were presented on Thursday, June 19 at a ceremony in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the Department of State.

This ceremony marks the 40th anniversary of AFSA's dissent awards program, which began in 1968 with the William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent (see below).

Ambassador (Ret.) Thomas Boyatt was selected for the annual Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy, and the award was presented by Ambassador (Ret.) Thomas Pickering. Previous recipients include U. Alexis

Johnson, Frank Carlucci, George H.W. Bush, Lawrence Eagleburger, Cyrus Vance, David Newsom, Lee Hamilton, Thomas Pickering, George Shultz, Richard Parker, Senator Richard Lugar, Morton Abramowitz and Joan Clark.

During a distinguished 26-year Foreign Service career, Amb. Boyatt served as ambassador to Cyprus and Colombia. He received a Meritorious Honor Award in 1969 for heroism during the hijacking of a TWA plane, and earned both the William R. Rivkin and Christian A. Herter Awards for constructive dissent. Amb. Boyatt served as president of AFSA, and continues to devote countless hours to strengthening the Foreign Service in retire-

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ON THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WILLIAM R. RIVKIN AWARD

Telling Truth to Power

BY ROBERT AND CHARLES RIVKIN

Our father, William R. Rivkin, died suddenly in Dakar on March 19, 1967, while serving as ambassador to Senegal. Upon the news of his death, dozens of friends, colleagues and admirers spontaneously offered to donate in his name to the cause of our mother Enid's choosing. After attending to the difficult task of adjusting herself and four young children to a new life stateside, Enid began to focus on how to best memorialize her husband. In conjunction with our uncle, Donald Rivkin, Enid decided that the most appropriate legacy would be to encourage

Foreign Service officers to tell truth to power.

Bill Rivkin, like President John F. Kennedy who first appointed him ambassador, relished open, respectful debate as the best path to sound decisionmaking. A former national collegiate debating champion, Bill had no use for "yes men" — bureaucrats whose narrow conception of duty and lack of courage incline them to agree reflexively with any opinion expressed by their boss. He was delighted to find in the Foreign Service many fine professionals willing to speak up when they felt their

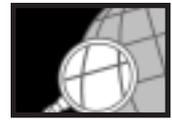


Amb. and Mrs. William Rivkin with Pres. John F. Kennedy.

chief of mission was mistaken. Bill was concerned, however, that unless the Foreign Service as an institution encouraged these officers' best instincts and let them know

Continued on page 62

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



From the State Department Federal Credit Union

"The State Department Federal Credit Union's commitment to the best interests of our member-owners includes keeping you promptly informed about any significant occurrences within your credit union. We regret to report that an internal investigation revealed one of our employees misappropriated credit union funds. This discovery led to the immediate dismissal of the employee and further investigation by law enforcement. The amount misappropriated was approximately \$100,000. As a result, the Alexandria Police Department filed charges against this former credit union employee in May.

"In addition to the law enforcement steps taken, the SDFCU Board of Directors has arranged for an independent review of our credit union corporate financial policies and procedures. The independent auditor will reaffirm the adequacy of present procedures and recommend any changes that could strengthen and enhance financial oversight and internal controls to minimize such risks in the future. Your board of directors will take any necessary action based on the independent auditor's report. All financial losses will be fully recovered, and no member accounts were affected. With more than \$975 million in assets, SDFCU has never been stronger and continues to be your safest harbor in today's troubled markets."

Foreign Service Women's Forum

www.afsa.org/secure/corridors/index.cfm

The Foreign Service Women's forum, hosted on the AFSA Web site, was created in late 2007 as a place for Foreign Service women to discuss the unique challenges and opportunities faced by female members of the FS. The forum is moderated by FSO Della Cavey and is open to all female generalists and specialists.

AFSA members can log on with an ID (member number) and password (last name). If you're already an AFSA member, but haven't signed up for the AFSA Online Member Services yet, please contact the Member Services Department at member@afsa.org.

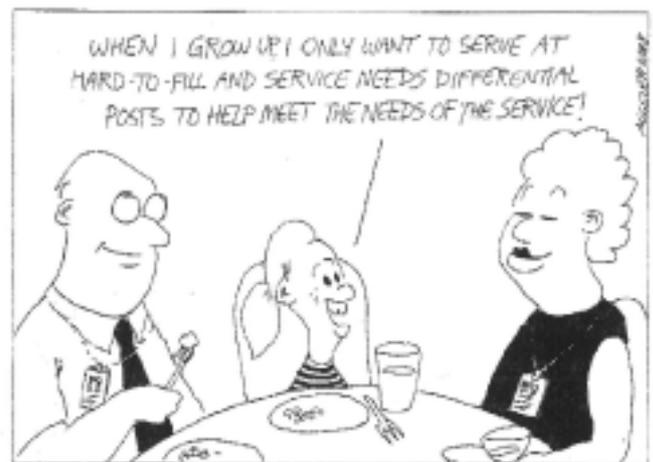
BOOKFAIR Collections

Plan ahead! Save some time for the 48th Annual BOOKFAIR sponsored by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, which will open Friday, Oct. 17, and continue through Sunday, Oct. 26. As usual, it will be held in the Diplomatic Exhibit Hall on the first floor of Main State. In addition to second-hand books from all over the world, BOOKFAIR will feature the Art Corner, Collectors' Corner and an assortment of stamps and coins.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER

Raising the perfect Foreign Service child



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Open Season for Cheap Shots

Gratuitous, unfounded attacks on the U.S. Foreign Service are once again in season. A certain segment of the media who have spent years gleefully and mindlessly bashing the State Department eagerly awaited the launch of the assignment cycle for summer 2009 positions in Iraq in order to do the same hatchet job on us that they did last fall. Their headlines and editorial comments were written long in advance, all taking up the same tired theme: “State diplomats unwilling to serve in Iraq, so Secretary Rice has to order them to go.”

It therefore must have been terribly disappointing to the editors at Fox News, at the *Washington Times*, and at the *Weekly Standard* when Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and other senior department officials, working closely with AFSA, kicked off the summer 2009 Iraq recruitment drive this past June (2008) without feeling any need whatsoever to suggest that directed assignments might be necessary.

Instead, Director General Harry K. Thomas and Sec. Rice, after praising the thousands of courageous, patriotic Foreign Service members who have chosen to take Iraq assignments since 2003, simply put out a call for willing volunteers for next year. The department’s cable to all diplomatic and consular posts expressed full confidence that it will be possible to staff every single position at Embassy Baghdad and on the Provincial Reconstruction Teams with qualified volunteers — as the Foreign Service has done for the past six years.

Sadly, these simple facts, which speak volumes about the high caliber and devotion to duty of our members, did nothing to deter our knee-jerk detractors from deliberately misreporting the story with their predetermined anti-Foreign Service bias.

A Fox News “Special Report” immediately ran a piece on the call for volunteers, but focused almost exclusively on last fall’s in-house Town Hall meeting, dredging out seven-month-old footage of the one FS employee — out of 11,400 — who had expressed personal concerns about the risks of serving in a combat zone. I provided lengthy quotes to Fox News to try to set the record straight; but, not surprisingly, those quotes were edited out.

Then, within days of the opening call for volunteers, the *Washington Times* published an editorial making the following astonishingly groundless assertions: “The fact is, too few Foreign Service officers have volunteered for these challenging and dan-

gerous positions. An estimated 300 vacancies remain for 2009 — and someone needs to fill them. ‘Soldier up.’ Or hit the private sector.”

You might think that honorable, conscientious editors would hesitate to write such deliberate falsehoods, especially when we — and State Department management — have pointed out repeatedly to them that more than 2,500 Foreign Service members have volunteered for war-zone postings in Iraq and Afghanistan since 2003, that we have filled every single State position at Embassy Baghdad and on the Iraq PRTs with willing bidders, and that not one single Foreign Service member has needed to be ordered to serve in Iraq.

You might think that reputable journalists would care about the utter dishonesty of decrying that “an estimated 300 vacancies remain for 2009.” Those 300 positions represent the entire 2009 Embassy Baghdad/PRT staffing pattern in Iraq, and we have only just opened up these jobs for bidding — more than a year in advance. By all accounts, the response so far has been enthusiastic, and the likelihood is high that we will have another crop of talented, motivated volunteers yet again for next year.

But this ideologically-driven segment of the media seems only interested in scapegoating U.S. diplomats for everything that goes wrong overseas. These editors do a profound disservice to the brave men and women of our Foreign Service who today spend most of their careers in hardship posts representing their country in conditions featuring daily terrorist threats, political instability and violence, extreme poverty, harsh climates and unhealthy conditions. They insult the hundreds of U.S. diplomats separated from their families right now because they are posted in countries so dangerous that spouses and children are not allowed. They disrespect the thousands of U.S. Foreign Service members who have stepped up to the plate every single year to staff our largest diplomatic missions, those in the Iraq and Afghanistan combat zones.

We have grown accustomed to these cheap shots from journalists and editors who themselves would never be willing to live in the kinds of places where our diplomats spend nearly their entire professional careers. But it still rankles. It is disgraceful. □



You might think that conscientious editors would hesitate to write such falsehoods, especially when we have pointed out repeatedly to them that more than 2,500 Foreign Service members have volunteered for war-zone postings in Iraq and Afghanistan since 2003.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

AFSA President Checks in with Retirees

AFSA President John Naland recently visited Foreign Service retiree groups in Raleigh/Durham/Chapel Hill, Los Angeles and San Francisco. During the Los Angeles stop, he met with the editorial board of the *Los Angeles Times* to discuss the need for more resources for diplomacy and development assistance. Having visited with seven Foreign Service retiree groups in five states across the nation, Naland applauds the role these groups play as an active extension of the Foreign Service as they work in their local areas to explain the value of diplomacy and development assistance to fellow citizens, the news media and members of Congress. They also provide their members with marvelous opportunities to keep in touch with others who learned first-hand the unique demands of a Foreign Service career.

Retirees who do not participate in one of the 18 Foreign Service retiree associations around the nation can find contact information on the nearest group in AFSA's 2008 Directory of Retired Members, or at www.afsa.org/retiree/retassoc.cfm.

For information on recent AFSA advocacy of issues of concern to retired members, please see www.afsa.org/retiree/012608update.cfm and www.afsa.org/retiree/040308update.cfm.

Events for FS Families Returning to the U.S.

Foreign Service High School Cross-Cultural Re-Entry Program.

Saturday, Aug. 23. A half-day interactive course for FS high school students who have spent an extended period overseas. Professional trainers will guide students through the transition process and provide strategies for a successful re-entry into American life and American schools. A panel of students who have re-entered in the last year or two will share their experiences and answer questions. The cost is \$10, with lunch provided. Sponsored by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation in partnership with the Transition Center, Foreign Service Institute. For more information or to register, e-mail fsyf@fsyf.org or visit www.fsyf.org and click on the high school calendar of events.

Annual FS Family Welcome Back Potluck Picnic, Sunday, Sept. 21, 4-6:30 p.m. at Nottoway Park, 9601 Courthouse Road, Vienna, Va. Sponsored by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation.

All Foreign Service families are invited. Norma McCaig, founder of Global Nomads International, will speak on "Resilience and the Foreign Service Child" and what parents can expect in the re-entry process. A program for teens on adjustment/transition will be offered, as will activities for the younger children. Please RSVP to fsyf@fsyf.org. Reservations are requested by Sept. 19.

Rivkin • Continued from page 59

that independent judgment and the courage to express it were the very essence of what their country needed from them, American diplomacy would suffer.

Only a few months after Bill's death, at Enid's urging, a group of his friends began working to create the William R. Rivkin Award to stimulate young Foreign Service officers to bring fresh and creative thinking to the practice of diplomacy. The original committee included Vice President Hubert Humphrey, William McCormick Blair, W. Michael Blumenthal, Angier Biddle Duke, Otto Kerner, Irving Kupcinet, Newt Minow, Adlai E. Stevenson III and Jack Tuthill. Mike Blumenthal wrote to Enid that he "could not think of a more fitting tribute to Bill's spirit and devotion to public service."

Joseph Bech, former prime minister of Luxembourg and one of the founding fathers of the European Union, was among those who sent congratulations to the committee for its work to institute an award worthy of the memory of such a "dynamic personality." Jack Tuthill, then U.S. ambassador to Brazil, predicted that the annual award would be an enduring "sign to the great young people in the Foreign Service that the road to success in any real meaning of the term requires courage, decisiveness and commitment." Tuthill added that "the award may help to open the eyes

of those confused critics of the American Foreign Service who have reached the mistaken conclusion that we seek the safe, the cautious and the uncommitted."

With such distinguished support, Enid had little trouble convincing AFSA that the award should be established. At first, the William R. Rivkin Award honored intellectual courage and "creative dissent." This was later redefined as "constructive dissent" to better express its character and purpose. The award is presented to a mid-level Foreign Service officer who has demonstrated "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity and intellectual courage in the context of constructive dissent." It includes a cash award of \$2,500 and a framed certificate, and is funded by the Rivkin family.

The first award ceremony on April 18, 1968, was attended by Vice President Humphrey, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach, Eugene Rostow, Averell Harriman, Sol Linowitz and the entire leadership of the Department of State. Humphrey, who was godfather to Bill Rivkin's sons, presented the award and observed: "I have known no one who has been really and truly, more willing to serve. If ever there was a volunteer, if ever there was a patriot, if ever there was a man who wanted to give his life to his country, it was

Amb. William Rivkin."

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger presented the Rivkin Award on Sept. 14, 1973. Just before he took the stage, he asked our mother about the award's origins. In response to her explanation, Kissinger raised an eyebrow and exclaimed: "You mean I'm presenting an award to someone who disagreed with me?!"

Bill Rivkin believed that loyal dissent reflects true patriotism. Constructive dissent has played a vital role in our nation's history, and over the past 40 years has been institutionalized as a critical aspect of the American diplomatic process. In fact, as Ambassador Edward Peck noted in a 2002 *FSJ* article, more than 60 percent of the senior officers who won dissent awards later achieved the rank of ambassador.

Enid presented the Rivkin Award each year until her death in 2002. It has honored many of the Foreign Service's best — people like Tom Boyatt, Anthony Quainton, Tex Harris, Ryan Crocker and Joseph Wilson — on the key foreign policy issues of our time, including Vietnam, the Iranian hostage crisis, Lebanon, the desaparecidos of Argentina, and Iraq. Our family is proud to have helped establish AFSA's program, and we are honored to support both the William R. Rivkin Award and the United States Foreign Service. □

Christian A. Herter Award

FOR A SENIOR-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Jeffrey Feltman

While serving as U.S. ambassador to Lebanon, Jeffrey Feltman demonstrated exceptional intellectual courage, integrity and leadership in challenging a decision by the Department of State's Office of Buildings Operations to proceed with the construction of a new embassy compound on a site in Beirut that he recognized would put the lives of American and Lebanese employees at risk. For this, he has been selected as the winner of the 2008 Herter Award for a senior-level officer.

Embassy Beirut's tragic history includes more than 350 lives lost through terrorism in the last 30 years. After the bombing of the original chancery in West Beirut by Hezbollah elements in 1983, the embassy was moved to a "temporary" building in a less hostile area in the eastern sector of the divided city that it long since outgrew. Accordingly, plans for constructing a new embassy became a priority in Washington and in Beirut.

In explaining why he took a stand against the new site, Amb. Feltman says, "My concerns developed out of the devastating 2006 Israel-Hezbollah war, and were exacerbated in January 2007, when Hezbollah completely took over all access roads to and from the proposed new embassy compound site. The Marines who helped protect us during the war said that, had we been at that new site during the war (with Hezbollah all around us), the U.S. military would have come in exactly once: to extract us."

Amb. Feltman knew that the U.S. diplomatic presence was key during that critical time, and the work they were doing out of the embassy — including running an evacuation of over 15,000 Americans, Secretary of State visits, delicate negotiations over a cessation of violence, delivery of humanitarian supplies, outreach to the media, etc. — would have been impossible had they been in the new site. "But most of all," says Amb. Feltman, "I was concerned about the security of our personnel: the war and subsequent developments made me see that we would have been in a part of Beirut utterly at the mercy of Hezbollah." When the site was selected, the Syrians still controlled Lebanon and the security environment was far different.



Amb. Feltman with clerics in a Druse religious shrine outside the Lebanese Chouf mountain town of Baakline in August 2007, following the announcement that the Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation would help fund renovation of that important religious, historic and cultural site.

A series of emergency action committee meetings at the embassy, during which the ambassador asked members to comment on the pros and cons of the selected site, led to a unanimous recommendation from the country team in Beirut that the new embassy compound was not a secure site and construction there should be put on hold.

This recommendation, which Amb. Feltman sent to Washington in September 2006, did not go over well in the Overseas Buildings Office, which wanted to see the NEC project completed expeditiously. Amb. Feltman invited then-Under Secretary of State for Management Henrietta Fore to visit Beirut and hear the embassy's concerns, which she did. Later, Amb. Feltman appealed directly to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. The final decision in Washington was to postpone until 2012 a

decision on whether or not to use the NEC site. This successful outcome would not have been possible without the persistent and courageous lobbying of Amb. Feltman.

Jeffrey Feltman joined the Foreign Service in 1986. Prior to serving as ambassador to Lebanon, he headed the Coalition Provisional Authority office in the Irbil province of Iraq and simultaneously served as deputy regional coordinator for the CPA's northern area. He previously served in Jerusalem, Tunisia, Tel Aviv, Budapest, Port-au-Prince and Washington. Amb. Feltman studied Arabic at the University of Jordan and also speaks French and Hungarian. He is married to FSO Mary Draper.



On March 22, 2007, Amb. Feltman shows Lebanese Druse leader Walid Jumblatt the memorial at Embassy Beirut honoring all those Lebanese and American U.S. government employees killed by terrorist acts in Lebanon. On that day, Amb. Feltman planted an ancient olive tree from the Chouf mountains (hometown of the Druse) on the embassy compound. The tree was a gift from Jumblatt to the embassy to symbolize U.S.-Lebanese friendship and to thank the U.S. for its support of Lebanon.

William R. Rivkin Award

FOR A MID-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Rachel Schneller

Rachel Schneller demonstrated courage and integrity in speaking out publicly on the occurrence of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among Foreign Service employees returning from assignments to war zones. For taking on this extremely sensitive issue, working within the system to push the State Department to address the problem, Schneller was selected for the Rivkin Dissent Award.

After returning to Washington from a tour in Iraq, as a Provincial Action Officer in Basrah, Schneller began speaking out about the realities of PTSD in war zones, working through proper media and other channels to heighten awareness of the problem in the Foreign Service community. She urged the department to provide greater services and treatment for those suffering from symptoms of PTSD following war zone assignments.

Her willingness to bring this issue out into the open has given many other Iraq returnees the strength to seek help for their own post-deployment issues. Her advocacy efforts helped pave the way for acknowledgment by senior management of the need to invest greater personnel and budgetary resources to deal with this growing problem. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has committed the State Department to doing more to assist those suffering from PTSD, and the Medical Bureau has been authorized funding to dedicate additional employees to work on PTSD issues.

Despite the widespread belief that talking candidly about post-deployment stress issues can be detrimental to a Foreign Service member's career, Schneller pressed openly for increased services for returnees from war zones — such as the start of a



Rachel Schneller attending a Provincial Reconstruction and Development meeting December 2005 in Maysan Province.

support group, the right to adequate home leave for those on long-term TDY status in Iraq and access to information on treatment and payment options for PTSD. She argued that seeking treatment for PTSD following an assignment in a war zone should not adversely affect an officer's medical clearance.

Schneller's remarks during a town hall meeting with the director

general of the Foreign Service, her three media interviews (all arranged and officially sanctioned by the Bureau of Public Affairs) carried by CNN, *USA Today* and the *New York Times*, as well as her January 2008 article in the *Foreign Service Journal*, have given other returning Iraq vets the courage to seek help for their own post-deployment stress-related issues.

The *USA Today* interview helped generate media and congressional interest that contributed to pressure on the department to do more about PTSD. For example, at an Aug. 1, 2007, hearing, a senator cited the *USA Today* article in urging Human Resources Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary Heather Hodges (testifying for the administration) to do more to assist employees with PTSD.

Many officers familiar with Schneller's efforts are convinced that her public frankness about her own mental health, and her battle over her own home leave situation (all within proper channels) are largely responsible for these recent positive policy changes that benefit all employees. "There is no other award I would rather receive than the one for constructive dissent," Schneller tells the *Journal*, "and I am honored to be among the women to receive it."

Rachel Schneller joined the Foreign Service in July 2001 and has served overseas in Skopje, Conakry and Basrah. Her domestic assignments have included the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and the Economics Bureau Office of Multilateral Trade Affairs. She received a master's degree in economics and conflict management from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in 2001.



Schneller at a November 2005 Iftar dinner in Basrah with Locally Engaged Staff: Dolfakar Al-Waheed (now resettled in San Francisco); Muntaha Ali (assassinated in Basrah in June 2006); Schneller; and Basil Jowdat (now resettled in Nashville).

W. Averell Harriman Award

FOR AN ENTRY-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Luke V. Zahner

As a first-tour political officer at Embassy Dhaka, Luke Zahner exhibited exemplary courage and integrity while reporting on human rights issues and setbacks for democracy in Bangladesh. Working within the system under extremely difficult conditions, Zahner conducted research and gathered first-hand information documenting serious human rights abuses by the military-backed Bangladeshi government. For his courageous efforts to provide Washington with an accurate account of the undemocratic activities within the country, Zahner was selected to receive the W. Averell Harriman Award.



From left: Zahner, Political Assistant Ali Sarker and Ambassador Patricia A. Butenis looking out on the Ganges River at the Bangladesh-India border in Rajshahi, Bangladesh, April 2007.

Zahner arrived in Bangladesh in the spring of 2006, during the run-up to parliamentary elections scheduled for early 2007. As a result of the failure of the two main political parties to cooperate, the pre-election period turned violent. In January 2007, a state of emergency was declared and the military supported the appointment of a new caretaker government, ostensibly to level the playing field and prepare for elections by the end of 2008. The state of emergency suspended many fundamental civil rights, and what followed was a spike in the number of human rights violations, particularly deaths and torture in custody over the course of 2007.

Zahner was involved in investigating many of those cases. He undertook painstaking research, gathered first-hand information, established contact with democracy and human rights activists, and pressed government interlocutors. He courageously challenged conventional wisdom and defended his findings to



Touring a dilapidated shelter in a Burmese Rohingya refugee camp outside of Cox's Bazaar, March 2008.

post management. He persisted in convincing his superiors of the necessity and importance of reporting these abuses, and of supporting those defenders of democracy and human rights whose accusations were often questioned by the government authorities.

The nomination also recognized Zahner's work on the annual human rights report, noting that he knew how and when to judiciously challenge efforts to dilute the report. He successfully brokered compromise language between Washington and the mission that upheld the report's high standards for credibility and worked hard to resolve differences of interpretation between Washington and the embassy.

Luke Zahner is from Rockville, Conn. He was a Fulbright scholar at the University of Bonn, Germany, and graduated from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Before joining the Service, he worked for six years (1996-2002) in the Balkans for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, including service as an elections and political adviser, as well as OSCE spokesman in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He was a USAID public affairs officer from 2002 to 2004 and a USAID democracy and governance advisor covering Iraq (2004-2005). He did a TDY to Iraq in 2004, where he helped with preparations for the first elections there, in January 2005. Zahner joined the State Department Foreign Service in 2005, and will head this summer to a consular tour in Jerusalem.



Left to right: Zahner, Amb. Butenis and Father Eugene Homrich at the Catholic mission in Pirgachha, Bangladesh, in April 2007, hearing from a parish priest about the torture and killing of a local indigenous activist by Bangladesh soldiers a month earlier.

AFSA Post Rep of the Year

Julie Eadeh Embassy Baghdad

The AFSA Governing Board unanimously approved the selection of Julie Eadeh, AFSA post representative for Embassy Baghdad, as the recipient of the 2008 AFSA Post Rep of the Year Award. This award, which is not given every year, is intended to honor extraordinary commitment and activism on the part of an AFSA member overseas who has volunteered to serve as representative for the labor union and professional association at his/her post of assignment.



Julie Eadeh on a trip to Mosul.

Eadeh was nominated by AFSA State Vice President Steve Kashkett, who has worked closely with her over the past year and has received extensive positive feedback concerning her work from other AFSA members posted in Iraq. AFSA reps fulfill several important functions at overseas posts, including conveying the concerns of members at post back to the AFSA leadership, negotiating with post management on those concerns and other matters affecting the conditions of work for the Foreign Service employees there, and serving as an information conduit on AFSA's advocacy activities to members at post. VP Kashkett affirms that "Julie performs all of the functions of an AFSA post rep superbly, and we recognize that those functions are absolutely vital in our largest and most dangerous diplomatic mission in the world."

Julie Eadeh, an information officer at Embassy Baghdad, took up her AFSA rep duties there with determination and enthusiasm, according to VP Kashkett, reporting to AFSA regularly on concerns about security, housing and onward assignments among members both at Embassy Baghdad and on various Provincial Reconstruction teams around the country. Some of her other initiatives included meeting with the deputy chief of mission on various issues, organizing a digital videoconference for AFSA leadership with more than two dozen members in Baghdad, and getting signatures from more than 100 members in Iraq on a collective letter to Congress urging passage of an income tax exemption for federal civilian employees assigned in combat zones.

"Addressing the questions and challenges facing our members serving courageously in Iraq as forthrightly and promptly as possible occupies the highest priority for us in AFSA today," says VP Kashkett, "so we absolutely need an enthusiastic and conscientious post rep in Baghdad. Julie has proven to be as effective an AFSA rep as we have anywhere."

Eadeh joined the State Department in 2002 as a Presidential Management Fellow, and served in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. She joined the Foreign Service in 2004 and has also served in Riyadh and Beirut. She speaks Arabic, French and Spanish. She is part of a tandem couple, married to David Ng. They will head to Shanghai via Chinese-language training beginning this summer.

M. Juanita Guess Award

FOR A COMMUNITY LIAISON OFFICER

Craig Douglas Gerard

Craig Gerard's accomplishments as the community liaison officer at Embassy Cairo have had a far-reaching impact throughout one of the largest missions in the world. The Cairo CLO serves personnel from over 40 U.S. government agencies with diverse backgrounds, including over 1,000 Americans and 1,400 locally-engaged staff. For his imagination, energy, enthusiasm and superior organizational skills Craig Gerard has been selected as the M. Juanita Guess Award winner for 2008.



Craig Gerard on top of the Cairo Tower.

As CLO officer, Gerard administers the Volunteer Network, which organizes volunteers to visit orphanages, hospitals, special needs facilities and animal shelters. Under his leadership the office collected over 450 bags of food during the Ramadan Food Drive, which were distributed to over 500 low-income families. Through this effort he has nurtured not only internal embassy relationships, but also relationships between Americans and Egyptians.



Gerard and his wife Ronit in the White Desert, Bahariya Oasis.

In addition, Embassy Cairo supports the families of unaccompanied employees who are serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. Gerard created a support group known as "Who Moved My Spouse?" to address the needs and concerns of the spouses of these employees. He has designed a number of programs for these families and is coordinating the management of the entire embassy's efforts to support them. One of his many critical contributions was the development of a comprehensive list of services provided to unaccompanied families residing in Egypt, a list that ensures the needs of these families are accounted for and met. Commenting on this work, Gerard says that "their strength is inspiring and their difficulties drive me to work harder. Being separated from your loved ones for a year is hard enough, so it is my feeling that life at post should be as comfortable and as worry-free as possible for these families."

Gerard has inspired other mission members to implement their own international projects. An embassy teenager's work with Sudanese refugees earned her an award from the Foreign Service Youth Foundation and another mission member started, a nonprofit foundation to support Iraqi refugees currently living in Egypt. Gerard has been able to secure significant resources for that group.

For his contribution to embassy morale, and the "quality, quantity, imagination, and relevance of his programs," Gerard is an ideal recipient for the Guess Award.

Craig Gerard earned a degree in managerial economics in 1999 from UC Davis. Cairo is his first overseas post, though he has traveled widely. He is married to Ronit Gerard, a USAID program officer, and they have recently welcomed a newborn son.

Delavan Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICE MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Virginia M. Gregory

Virginia M. Gregory has made it a top priority to boost embassy morale in one of the most dangerous posts in the southern hemisphere, Caracas. She embraced the challenges the city posed and found numerous opportunities to improve the mission well beyond her responsibilities as an office management specialist. For her effort to educate herself and those around her about Venezuelan politics and culture, and her seemingly tireless ability to get embassy staff involved in local life, Gregory was selected as winner of the 2008 Delavan Award.



Gregory with two capibara, which are common in the southeastern parts of Venezuela.

For the Foreign Service community at Embassy Caracas crime is a daily reality, basic food items can be scarce and anti-U.S. sentiment abounds. Gregory sought to ease those daily challenges in both small and far-reaching ways.

She founded the “Embassy Caracas Road Runners,” a group of over 40 members that included both American and local staff, which allowed members to interact and run safely through the streets of Caracas.

She also served as the Federal Women’s Program Coordinator, producing a monthly newsletter to share news, events and success stories of women within the mission. Gregory secured several interesting and useful feature stories including interviews with the principal deputy assistant secretary for human resources and the current U.S. ambassador to Zambia.

As testament to her zeal for understanding Venezuelan politics, Gregory volunteered as an election observer in December for the constitutional reform referendum, and was able to talk her way into several polling stations, thus enabling her to provide valuable information that contributed to embassy reporting on the election. When she was assigned to administer the deputy chief of mission’s entry-level mentoring program, she was able to suggest several prominent Venezuelan speakers, because of her familiarity with the country’s political scene.

Gregory continually worked to perfect her Spanish language skills, organized socials, excursions and trips on a regular basis, recommended local restaurants and encouraged embassy members to enjoy all Caracas has to offer.

The nomination from Embassy Caracas describes Gregory as the “social dynamo of the embassy” and the nominator stated that in 28 years in the Foreign Service, he had never encountered “a more dynamic, positive and influential OMS.”



Embassy Caracas Road Runners at a 10K race. From left: Phil French (DCM), Robin Holzhauser (Public Affairs), Col. E. Passmore, Gregory, Cristina Camacho (Consular), Heather Rome (USAID), Mora Paiva (Foreign Agricultural Service).

Gregory joined the Foreign Service in 2006 from Silverton, Colo. She is preparing for her next post, Bogotá, where she will no doubt demonstrate the same enthusiasm and dedication.

Avis Bohlen Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY MEMBER

Victor D. Williams

Victor D. Williams has served as an inspiration to those with whom he has interacted during the past three years in Pretoria.

Through his extraordinary volunteer activities he has made exceptional contributions that will live on well beyond his tour in South Africa. Embassy Pretoria’s Deputy Chief of Mission Donald Teitelbaum said it best: “Simply put, Victor has changed lives.” For his tireless commitment to the youth of South Africa and his contributions to the diplomatic community in Pretoria, he was selected for the Avis Bohlen Award.

Williams’s tenure in Pretoria has been dedicated to supporting South African students, and he has enlisted foundations and organizations in support of his educational efforts. He worked with the Arthur Robbins Foundation to enable 15 students from disadvantaged backgrounds to attend a Global Youth Leadership Summit in San Diego, developing their leadership skills and enhancing bicultural understanding.



Williams at a Christmas party donating toys to South African kids.



Williams at the celebration of the donation of 150 pounds of books to the Berakah Educational Foundation.

As his nominator notes, “Williams is a master at match-making the strengths of organizations and people.”

Williams also founded Douglas Diplomatic Services.com, a business that provides services to newly arrived diplomats, military personnel and expatriates. Designed to ease the transition to a new life in a foreign country, the firm provides services and information ranging from obtaining a vehicle or cell phone to securing a home or apartment. Douglas Diplomatic Services was featured in the September 2007 issue of *State* magazine.

Williams’ business became so successful he was able to found a charitable organization, the Douglas Foundation, which focuses on education and community development, and creating educational opportunities for South African students.

Williams’s enthusiasm and creativity in finding opportunities for the youth of South Africa and his efforts to build strong, lasting relationships between the U.S. and the host country are clear. Indeed he has ensured that the programs he created will continue after his departure from post.

Born in Columbus, Ohio, Victor Williams attended the University of Cincinnati, and is the proud parent of a daughter, Victoria, and a son, Douglas. Williams arrived in Pretoria in 2004, accompanying his wife, Marilyn T. Williams, the assistant legal attaché at Embassy Pretoria. Previously the family served in Bridgetown.

2008 AFSA Merit Award Winners

AFSA is proud to announce the 26 Foreign Service high school seniors who were selected as the 2008 AFSA Merit Award winners. AFSA congratulates these students for their academic and artistic achievements.

These one-time-only awards, totaling \$35,700, were bestowed on May 2 during Foreign Affairs Day. Winners received \$1,800 and honorable-mention winners received \$800. The best-essay winner and the community-service winner each received \$250 for those awards. Judges were individuals from the Foreign Service community.

This year, 54 students competed for the 15 Academic Merit Awards. They were judged on their grade-point average, Scholastic Assessment Test scores, essays, letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities and any special circumstances. From the Academic Merit Award applicants, the committee selected a best-essay winner (Benjamin Winnick) and a community service winner (Margaret Soderholm).

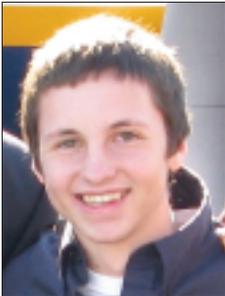
Fifteen students submitted art merit applications under one of the following categories: visual arts, musical arts, drama or creative writing. Applicants were judged on their submissions, letters of recommendation

and essays. Brendan Ternus was selected as the Art Merit Award winner for his short story and poem submission. Jason Curtis and Elizabeth Hogeman were selected as the Art Merit Award honorable-mention winners. Jason submitted a composition for piano and synthesized musical instrument, while Elizabeth entered photographs.

AFSA has established eight academic merit named scholarships to date, and these awards are bestowed on the highest-scoring students. The recipients of these scholarships were: Jason Curtis, for the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Scholarship; Michael Haggblade, for the John and Priscilla Becker Family Scholarship; Hana Passen and Paul VanKoughnett, for the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholarships; Shannon Hicks, for the John C. Leary Memorial Scholarship; Christopher Huskey and Brendan Ternus, for the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholarships; and Joan Cummins, for the Donald S. and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Scholarship.

For more information on the AFSA Scholarship Program — merit awards and financial aid awards — or how to establish a named scholarship, contact Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504, or dec@afsa.org, or visit our Web site at www.afsa.org/scholar/.

Academic Merit Winners



Iain Addleton – son of Jonathan Addleton (USAID) and Fiona Addleton; graduate of Mount de Sales Academy, Macon, Ga.; attending Davidson College in N.C., majoring in political science or economics.



Joan Cummins – daughter of Kathryn Hoffman (State) and Paul Cummins; graduate of Washington-Lee High School, Arlington, Va.; attending the University of California at Los Angeles, majoring in theater and history; designated the AFSA/Donald S. Spigler Memorial and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Scholar.



Jason Curtis – son of Keith Curtis (FCS) and Bert Schoen Curtis (State); graduate of Stockholm International School; attending the Frank W. Olin College of Engineering in Mass., majoring in engineering; designated the AFSA/AAFSW Scholar and an AFSA Art Merit Award honorable-mention winner.



Melissa Gallant – daughter of Rosemary Gallant (FCS) and Jonathan Gallant; graduate of the International School of Brussels; attending Wellesley College, majoring in Chinese and developmental economics.



Hannah Groch-Begley – daughter of John Groch (State) and Valerie Begley; graduate of Singapore American School; attending Vassar College, majoring in history and drama.



Nathan Keesling – son of Jonathan Keesling (State) and Robyn Keesling; graduate of Frankfurt International School; attending Brigham Young University, majoring in computer science.



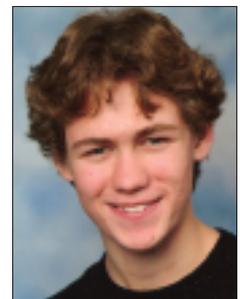
Kate Miller – daughter of Lloyd Miller (USAID) and Roberta Miller; graduate of Cairo American College; attending Dartmouth College.



Hana Passen – daughter of Andrew Passen (State) and Jeane Harris (State); graduate of the American International School of Lusaka; attending Princeton University; designated the AFSA/Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholar.



E. Lowell Reade – son of Evan Reade (State) and Mary Rose Reade; graduate of the American School in Tokyo; attending Harvey Mudd College in California, majoring in engineering.



Brendan Ternus – son of Scott Ternus (State) and Mary Ternus (State); graduate of the American School in London; attending Yale University, majoring in English or theater; designated the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar and AFSA's Art Merit Award Winner.



AUSTIN TRACY

Scholarship Winners Honored

AFSA scholarship winners at the May 2 Foreign Affairs Day and Merit Awards reception. Back row, from left: AFSA President John Naland, Timothy Wong, Amb. C. Edward Dillery, Michael Hagglblade. Front row, from left: Joan Cummins, Margaret Soderholm and Shannon Hicks.

PMA Funds AFSA Scholarship Winner

Amb. C. Edward Dillery, AFSA Committee on Education chairman (left), accepts a \$4,000 check for the Financial Aid Scholarship Fund from Mr. Nick Frankhouer, scholarship chairman of the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service, during their May 1 luncheon.



LORI DEC



Michael "Mickey" Hagglblade – son of Helen Gunther (USAID, ret.) and Steven Hagglblade; graduate of Poolesville High School in Maryland; attending Stanford University, majoring in engineering; designated the AFSA/John and Priscilla Becker Family Scholar.



Shannon Hicks – daughter of Gregory Hicks (State) and Janne Hicks; graduate of James W. Robinson Jr. Secondary School, Fairfax, Va.; attending the State University of New York at Stony Brook, majoring in astronomy and physics; designated the AFSA/John C. Leary Memorial Scholar.



Christopher Huskey – son of James Huskey (State) and Joanne Huskey; graduate of the Taipei American School; attending Stanford University, majoring in international relations, international business or political science; designated the AFSA/Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar.



Paul VanKoughnett – son of Hale VanKoughnett (State) and Diane VanKoughnett, graduate of the Seoul Foreign School; attending Harvard University, majoring in mathematics; designated the AFSA/Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholar.



Benjamin Winnick – son of Seth Winnick (State) and Cindy Winnick; graduate of École Active Bilingue Jeannine Manuel, Paris; attending the University of Pennsylvania, majoring in classical civilization; designated the AFSA Academic Merit Awards "Best Essay" winner.

Academic and Art Merit Honorable-Mention Winners

Sarah Bamhart – daughter of Jim Bamhart (USAID) and Elizabeth Bamhart; graduate of the American International School of Lusaka; attending Middlebury College.

Fallon O'Dowd – daughter of Stephen O'Dowd (State) and Rhonda Brown (State); graduate of Walworth Barbour School of Lusaka, attending Harvard University, majoring in government or international relations.

Natalie Coley – daughter of Theodore Coley (State) and Lea Coley (State); graduate of the International School of Bangkok; attending the University of Delaware, majoring in fashion merchandising.

Lauren Simpkins – daughter of Diana Valderrama (State) and Leroy Simpkins (State, ret.); graduate of Oakton High School, Vienna, Va.; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in chemistry.

Elisabeth Hogeman – daughter of George Hogeman (State) and Geryn Hogeman; graduate of George C. Marshall High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in English and art; designated an AFSA Art Merit Award honorable-mention winner.

Margaret Soderholm – daughter of Elizabeth Soderholm (State) and Carlton Soderholm; graduate of Washington-Lee High School, Arlington, Va.; attending Carnegie Mellon University, majoring in chemical engineering; designated the AFSA Academic Merit Community Service Award Winner.

Theodore Koening – son of John Koening (State) and Natalie Koening; graduate of Berlin Brandenburg International School; attending the California Institute of Technology, majoring in chemical engineering.

Timothy Wong – son of Terrence Wong (State) and Kristine Wong; graduate of James W. Robinson Jr. Secondary School, Fairfax, Va.; attending Illinois Institute of Technology, majoring in architecture.

2008 AFSA MERIT AWARD "BEST ESSAY"

Waking Up in Vietnam

BY BENJAMIN WINNICK

My three years in Vietnam shaped my perceptions more than any other experience in my life. I encountered prejudice and learned about being a minority. I witnessed poverty and saw the developing world firsthand. And I learned how culture shapes life, work and behavior.

At the International School of Ho Chi Minh City, Americans were a minority. Most students were Vietnamese or Korean, with a total of over 20 nationalities. I encountered prejudice against America for the first time, though not from Vietnamese students. The prejudice mostly came from Western students, driven by objections to America's foreign policy but extending to its culture, history and people.

I was not just Ben; I was "the American." I was torn between my own disagreement with U.S. foreign policy, loyalty to my country and its historic values, and my desire to be accepted by students and teachers. There were also tensions among other groups, particularly between Koreans and Europeans. After enduring these tensions for over a year, I took action. During my sophomore year, I spearheaded the creation of the "Students for Tolerance Committee" to raise awareness and reduce hostility at school.

My school experiences were complemented by invaluable lessons about poverty and its problems that I learned from living in a developing country. In Vietnam, I saw families living in metal shacks. I saw

people use the Saigon River as a toilet, drink its water and bathe and wash their clothes in it. I saw children working in fields and begging on the streets. Although I witnessed these events daily, my most direct experiences of poverty and cultural differences came from volunteering at Bien Hoa Orphanage.

The orphanage showed me the hardships orphans face. The air inside was filled with the stench of urine, feces, warm milk, mucus and sweat. There were rooms filled with dozens of tiny, mewling babies. When we, a group of nine volunteers, held the babies, we could feel their heavy, impaired breathing. Caring for so many tiny children was a Sisyphean task. Only two caregivers worked at a time, and they concentrated on mechanical tasks such as laundry, cleaning, and bottle-feeding. They had little time to play with the children. We alleviated some of the strain but even as we held, rocked, fed and played, there were unattended children screaming for attention. I would console one child, but as soon as I diverted my attention to another baby, the child I had just put down would resume howling.

At Bien Hoa, I learned that when people are concerned about survival, it is difficult to be altruistic. The women who worked at the orphanage seemed more concerned with keeping their jobs than with the children's welfare. They rarely let the children go outside because they feared

that any injury, even a scratch or bug bite, would jeopardize their employment. When one of our teachers donated a pair of shoes, a woman on duty took them for her own child. When someone is in poverty, short-term gain is a higher priority than moral correctness. Perhaps moral correctness is a luxury reserved for those whose immediate needs are satisfied.

The orphanage also taught me the challenges of working with people from a different culture. Culture is more than diet or apparel; it influences one's way of life and work. In America, people dispose of things without hesitation, but the women at Bien Hoa were raised to conserve. Whenever we tried to change a diaper that was not bursting, they would stop us. Although we saw children suffering from diaper rash, defying the women would have been terribly disrespectful. So, although we changed diapers when we could, we never openly disobeyed the women who worked there.

Thanks to Vietnam, I better understand the meaning of diversity. I recognize that culture shapes attitudes. I am able to function in foreign or new environments. I have more insight into prejudice and the way it excludes and divides people. I also recognize the serious need that exists in the world and our duty to do something about it. Although I still have a lot to learn about the world, living in Vietnam has made me wiser and broader-minded. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

Math Enrichment for Your Kids (and You)

AFSA member Andrew Erickson writes from Bogota to recommend a math resource for high school students that Foreign Service families can enjoy through an online connection. He tells us that the St. Mark's Institute of Mathematics, founded by Dr. James Tanton and supported by St. Mark's School in Southborough, Mass., "is a non-profit organization serving those interested in practicing and experiencing the joy of true mathematical thinking as a creative and personally rich endeavor. Its outreach work is directed towards students, teachers and parents, offering enrichment, assistance and fun."

What started out with a note placed by Erickson in the Embassy Bogota newsletter led to notes in other embassy newsletters and more than 300 Foreign Service families around the world now subscribe to the free monthly math newsletters, including "Mathematical Puzzles without Words."

The institute is looking for feedback on what would be of most help to Foreign Service families. Possible future plans include online Web lectures and lessons, Web-based enrichment materials and additional newsletters of different types. A brief online survey to enter your ideas is at www.stmarksschool.org/math/survey. If you have any questions about the institute or would like to receive the newsletter (it's all free!), please send an e-mail to mathinstitute@stmarksschool.org.

Foreign Service Resource Needs: Talking Points

BY JOHN K. NALAND, AFSA PRESIDENT

Since the 2003 invasion of Iraq, staffing demands on the Foreign Service have soared: 300 positions in Iraq, 150 positions in Afghanistan, 40 positions in the State Department's office to coordinate reconstruction efforts, 100-plus training positions to increase the number of Arabic speakers, and 280 new positions in areas of emerging importance such as China and India.

Despite those urgent staffing needs, Congress since 2003 has turned down all State Department requests for additional positions (totaling 709 positions), except those earmarked for consular affairs and diplomatic security. As a result, literally hundreds of Foreign Service slots are vacant. Some 12 percent of overseas Foreign Service positions (excluding those in Iraq and Afghanistan) are now vacant, as are 33 percent of domestic Foreign Service positions. Furthermore, 19 percent of the filled slots are held by employees "stretched" into a position designated for a more experienced person. To add insult to injury, the dollar's sharp decline has left U.S. embassies and consulates (whose expenses are in local currency) limping along with insufficient operational funding.

The State Department calculates that the Foreign Service is short a total of about 2,100 positions — 1,015 positions for overseas and domestic assignments and 1,079 for training and temporary needs. Current total staffing is just 11,500. These shortfalls in staffing and operating expenses are reducing the effectiveness of U.S. diplomacy in building and sustaining a more democratic, secure and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and international community. The diplomatic staffing gaps stand in stark contrast to the situation at the Department of Defense,

which is proceeding to expand the armed forces' permanent rolls by 92,000 by 2011. The State Department's deficits amount to little more than a rounding error when compared to the additional resources being dedicated to the Pentagon.

A growing chorus of voices is urging that the administration and Congress act to strengthen the diplomatic element of national power. For example, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, in a Nov. 26, 2007, speech at Kansas State University, said: "The Department of Defense has taken on many ... burdens that might have been assumed by civilian agencies in the past ... [The military has] done an admirable job ... but it is no replacement for the real thing — civilian involvement and expertise ... Funding for non-military foreign-affairs programs ... remains disproportionately small relative to what we spend on the military... There is a need for a dramatic increase in spending on the civilian instruments of national security — diplomacy, strategic communications, foreign assistance, civic action, and economic reconstruction and development... We must focus our energies beyond the guns and steel of the military... Indeed, having robust civilian capabilities available could make it less likely that military force will have to be used in the first place, as local problems might be dealt with before they become crises."

Despite all of that, the president's Fiscal Year 2009 budget request to narrow the staffing gaps appears to be going nowhere given the likelihood that Congress will defer budget decisions to the next administration. That is unfortunate. The next president will undoubtedly want a strong diplomatic corps to work hand-in-hand with our nation's strong military. Yet if Congress misses the opportunity to boost

funding for diplomacy this year, it would be 2010 before the first additional Foreign Service new hires could finish their initial training. Waiting two more years for diplomatic reinforcements is too long in view of the challenges facing America overseas.

Few people realize that two-thirds of the Foreign Service is deployed overseas at all times and that 70 percent of them are at hardship posts (meaning locations with difficult living conditions due to terrorist threats, violent crime, harsh climate, or other factors). Over half of the Foreign Service has served at a hardship post within the past five years. The number of posts that are too dangerous to permit employees to bring their families has quadrupled since 2001 — to 905 such positions today. Over 20 percent of Foreign Service members have served in an unaccompanied position within the past five years. As of this summer, 15 percent had served in war-zone Iraq.

Yet incredibly, Foreign Service members suffer from an ever-growing financial disincentive to serve abroad. The pay disparity caused by the exclusion of overseas Foreign Service members from receiving the "locality pay" salary adjustment given to other federal employees now causes U.S. diplomats to take a 20.89-percent cut in base pay when transferring abroad. In effect, Foreign Service members take a pay cut to serve at all 20-percent-and-below hardship differential posts — 183 of 268 overseas posts. Losing the equivalent of one year's salary for every five served abroad has serious long-term financial consequences, especially for families already suffering the loss of income from a spouse who cannot find employment overseas. It also contributes to a growing feeling that the Foreign Service has become less "family-friendly." □

Awards • Continued from page 59

ment. (Look for the interview with Amb. Boyatt on p. 13 of this issue. Profiles of all other award winner begin on p. 63.)

AFSA gratefully appreciates the efforts of all those who sent in nominations and hope that posts will also recognize their nominees' outstanding accomplishments. AFSA also thanks all those who served on panels this year.

The association places great importance on these awards, which are unique in the U.S. government. AFSA would like to acknowledge Director General Harry Thomas for co-sponsoring this year's awards ceremony. Congratulations to all winners and runners-up.

Constructive Dissent Awards

There are four AFSA awards for intellectual courage, initiative and integrity in the context of constructive dissent that are presented annually to Foreign Service employees who demonstrate the courage to speak out and challenge the system. Each winner receives a certificate of recognition and a monetary prize of \$2,500. The AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee selects the

Harris, Harriman and Herter Dissent Award winners. The Rivkin Award winner was selected by the children of the late Ambassador William Rivkin: Julia Wheeler, Laura Ledford, Charles Rivkin and Robert Rivkin. This year's winners are:

LUKE V. ZAHNER, U.S. Embassy Dhaka, winner of the W. Averell Harriman Award for an entry-level Foreign Service officer.

RACHEL I. SCHNELLER, economic/commercial officer in the Bureau of Economic, Energy and Business Affairs, winner of the William R. Rivkin Award for a mid-level Foreign Service officer.

AMBASSADOR JEFFREY FELTMAN, former U.S. ambassador to Lebanon and current principal deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, winner of the Christian A. Herter Award for a senior Foreign Service officer.

The Tex Harris Award for a Foreign Service specialist was not awarded this year.

Outstanding Performance Awards

These awards recognize exemplary performance and extraordinary contributions to professionalism, morale and effectiveness. Each winner receives a certificate

of recognition and \$2,500. The 2008 winners and runners-up are:

VICTOR WILLIAMS, Embassy Pretoria, winner of the Avis Bohlen Award, presented to a Foreign Service family member whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance American interests. The runner-up is Ellen Brager-Michiels, Embassy Santo Domingo.

VIRGINIA GREGORY, Embassy Caracas, winner of the Delavan Award, which recognizes extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale by an Office Management Specialist. The runner-up is Tanya Bodde, Embassy Islamabad.

CRAIG GERARD, Embassy Cairo, winner of the M. Juanita Guess Award for outstanding service as a community liaison officer. Runners-up were co-CLOs Lily Hightower and Lesya Cely of Embassy Addis Ababa.

JULIE A. EADEH, Embassy Baghdad, was selected for a special award for AFSA Post Representative of the Year. This award comes with a framed certificate and a cash award of \$1,000. □

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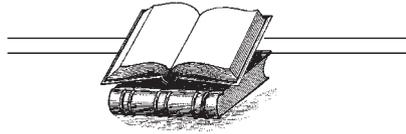
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BOOKS

Cultural Diplomacy's Finest Hour

Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey

Yale Richmond, *Berghahn Books*,
2008, \$29.95, hardback, 175 pages.

REVIEWED BY GERALD LOFTUS

Yale Richmond's latest book, *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey* — part of the ongoing "Diplomats and Diplomacy" series jointly published by the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired — is a lively and important study in memoir form.

Richmond skillfully provides both the background and "flash forward" context to his career in Eastern Europe during the decades following World War II. There he took part in early cultural exchange efforts with the Soviet bloc, which he updates throughout his lifelong study of the region.

Readers will see parallels with today's transformational diplomacy in Richmond's years as a civilian "Resident Officer" in American-occupied Germany, from which he segued into the Foreign Service. As ROs, precursors to today's Provincial Reconstruction Teams, he and his military colleagues administered, with imagination and initiative, the post-Nazi "Reorientation Program." Richmond recalls asking himself, "How would Germans react to me as a

*Richmond's account
affirms PD officers' key
role in opening Iron
Curtain countries to
Western influence, a
vital step on the way to
winning the Cold War.*



Jew?" His answer shows the strength of character and magnanimity toward his "hosts" that he displayed throughout his seven years in Germany.

The heart of this memoir is the time Richmond spends in Warsaw, Vienna and Moscow as a cultural and press officer. (His "out-of-area" assignment in Laos provides a rare look at Indochina between the French and American wars there.) Warsaw, the "best post of my career," gives Richmond free rein to build cultural programs, including the first Polish-U.S. Fulbright academic exchanges — precedent-setting given Cold War tensions.

The author generously credits his success there to a colleague's counsel: "If you can show officials that you really like Poland, you can do almost everything you want here." And so he did for the next three years.

Serving diplomats might envy Richmond's freedom of action during the heyday of showcasing American culture, before security and media placement priorities trumped libraries, and "strategic communication"

and "information operations" came to vie with civilian public diplomacy. Entry-level officers, in particular, should see his story as confirmation of the importance of the "basics": learning languages (in his case, at least four), and developing regional and functional expertise. And for PD officers, the book will affirm their profession's key role in opening Iron Curtain countries to Western influence, a vital step on the way to winning the Cold War.

The chapter "Shafted by Shakespeare" should be excerpted for AFSA's dissent collection. Richmond's finest hour, as a professional defending long-term American interests, was his run-in with Nixon political appointee Frank Shakespeare. The new head of the U.S. Information Agency visited Moscow in 1969, bent on regime change. After years of carefully implementing the bilateral cultural agreement, Richmond was floored when Shakespeare blurted out, to American staff in a (presumably) bugged room, that USIA's mission was to overthrow the Soviet government.

Richmond's response took some boldness: "Mr. Shakespeare, that has never been the policy of the State Department ... our aim is to live with these people in peace." Though Shakespeare subsequently blocked Richmond's promotion, the McCarthy era was over. The Nixon administration's embrace of détente vindicated Richmond, and he became a respected Washington expert in the burgeoning exchange program with the Soviet Union.



After leaving the Foreign Service, Richmond's skills continued to be in demand in the waning years of the Soviet Union. Richmond contributed to the Helsinki process and later joined the National Endowment for Democracy.

I entered the Foreign Service as Yale Richmond was retiring, but while reading *Practicing Public Diplomacy* I felt I'd gotten to know him. His straightforward writing makes his humanity, humility and sense of humor almost tangible. If I ever write a memoir, I would like it to be as instructive and enjoyable as Yale Richmond's.

Gerald Loftus, a retired FSO living in Brussels, analyzes diplomatic issues on his Web site, <http://Avuncular.American.typepad.com/blog>.

Compare and Contrast

Uneasy Neighbo(u)rs: Canada, the USA and the Dynamics of State, Industry and Culture

David T. Jones and David Kilgour, Wiley, 2007, \$27.95, hardcover, 352 pages.

REVIEWED BY STEPHEN W. BUCK

Having preceded David Jones as political minister-counselor in Ottawa and introduced him to his Canadian co-author, David Kilgour, I volunteered with enthusiasm to review *Uneasy Neighbo(u)rs*, whose title aptly points to the often subtle similarities and differences between Canada and the United States.

Jones and Kilgour, a longtime member of Parliament and deputy speaker of the House of Commons, have undertaken an ambitious and

difficult task: exploring how Americans and Canadians differ on major social and political issues. They briefly outline some major differences between the two societies and how they view each other: "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" versus "peace, order and good government;" separation of powers in the U.S. vs. concentration of power in the hands of the prime minister; and American unilateralism vs. Canadian multilateralism. As the authors put it: "Americans are proud of what they are — Americans; Canadians are proud of what they are not — Americans!"

Decrying the sorry state of Canada's military, Kilgour makes an eloquent argument that it should at least develop the capability to support peacekeeping and related multilateral operations. The authors rightly point out that in situations such as Chad or Darfur, military capability is essential: "the key component is good weapons, not good words." Still, many around the world would respond that after seven years of relentless wielding of the American big stick, speaking softly — and listening — are in order.

The authors acknowledge the difficulty Ottawa has had dealing effectively with the Bush administration's "either you're for us or against us" attitude. Yet they seem to prefer Mexico's relatively muted opposition to the invasion of Iraq over Canada's "almost contemptuous commentary ... that suggested not only that the United States was wrong in its judgments but that it had no right to take action without international sanction." (At this point a review of how George H.W. Bush built international consensus in the run-up to the Persian Gulf War, as compared to his son's approach 12 years later, might have been useful.)

Somewhat surprisingly, Kilgour writes that the Canadian role on

human rights has been "far from spotless," citing Ottawa's policy of "constructive engagement" with a range of deeply repressive regimes such as China, Sudan, Iran and Cuba, as if talking to such regimes somehow gives them the gold seal of approval. I raise this point as one of a number of examples where the authors may be more in agreement in their views than Canadians and Americans are.

An excellent final chapter ("Where Are We Going?") summing up comparisons between the two neighbors did leave me wishing the authors had spent a bit more time on the complex question of national unity, as well as the environmental implications of extracting oil from tar sands. (Canada has been touting tar sands as having the potential to increase oil production to five million barrels a day.)

Throughout, the book would have benefited from a more robust Canadian perspective, particularly in supporting multilateralism and opposing unilateralism. Indeed, some readers may be put off by Jones's many acerbic pronouncements, his reveling in John Bolton's criticism of the United Nations and dismissal of Canadian criticism of the U.S. invasion of Iraq as indicative of anti-Americanism and fear of the American "Goliath."

Still, there is a huge amount of thought-provoking material and much wisdom here — and not just for those who deal with, or are being posted to, Canada. (Kilgour's description of the relative insignificance of a backbencher is particularly poignant and informative.) It is also highly useful for Americans seeking to understand their own nation better, precisely because the contrast is between countries whose make-up is so similar. ■

Stephen Buck, a Foreign Service officer from 1963 to 2002, is a member of the FSJ Editorial Board.

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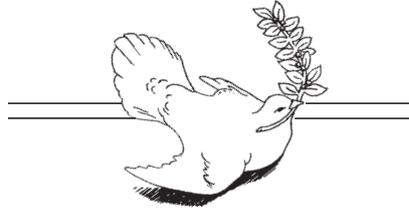
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IN MEMORY

Lucius Durham Battle, 89, a retired FSO, former ambassador and assistant secretary of State and a former president of AFSA, died on May 13 at his home in Washington, D.C.

Born and raised in Dawson, Ga., and Bradenton, Fla., Mr. Battle received his undergraduate and law degrees from the University of Florida in 1939 and 1946 respectively. He served in the Navy in the Pacific theater during World War II.

Mr. Battle joined the State Department in 1946, first serving on the Canada desk. He helped manage the Marshall Plan until 1949, when a chance encounter with Secretary of State Dean Acheson led to his appointment as the Secretary's special assistant. Acheson called Battle his "indispensable aide," famously noting that a successful diplomat needs "an assistant with nerves of steel, a sense of purpose, and a Southern accent."

In 1953, Mr. Battle was posted to Copenhagen. He then moved to NATO headquarters in Paris for a year before returning to the U.S. in 1956 to work with the Rockefeller family as vice president of Colonial Williamsburg. In 1961, he returned to State as executive director and executive assistant to Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Among many management reforms, he established the State Department Operations Center.

From 1962 to 1984, he served as assistant secretary of State for education and culture, coordinating cultural events in Washington and working with Senator J. William Fulbright on the Fulbright Scholars program.

President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Mr. Battle as U.S. ambassador to Egypt in 1964. In Cairo, he faced a number of challenges, including an attack on the embassy library, which was burned to the ground by a group of African students protesting American policies. He arranged the 1966 visit to the U.S. of Anwar Sadat, then an aide to President Gamal Abdel Nasser. He was effective and well-regarded by his Egyptian counterparts, despite the growing tensions between the two countries.

Amb. Battle was appointed assistant secretary of State for the Near East and North Africa in March 1967, weeks before the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli Six Day War. He resigned from the Foreign Service in 1968 to become vice president of Communications Satellite Corporation. He later turned down two ambassadorial appointments, one to Vietnam during the Johnson administration and one to Iran in 1977.

From 1973 to 1975, Amb. Battle served as president of the Middle East Institute, returning to Comsat in 1980. He later was president of the

Middle East Institute from 1986 to 1990, when he retired.

Amb. Battle was awarded the Foreign Service Cup in 1984. He was a member of both Diplomats and Consular Officers, Retired, and the American Foreign Service Association, serving as the president of the latter in 1963.

As president of the Bacon House Foundation, he facilitated its merger with the DACOR Education and Welfare Foundation to create the DACOR Bacon House Foundation in 1986. He served as vice president of DACOR and the Foundation, and was an honorary governor and trustee until his death.

He also served on the boards of a number of institutions, including as a trustee of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Washington Gallery of Modern Art, the George C. Marshall Foundation and the American University in Cairo. He was the first chairman of the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute.

Amb. Battle's wife of 55 years, Betty Davis Battle, whom he married in 1949, died in 2004.

He is survived by four children, Lynne Battle of Bethesda, Md., John Battle of Concord, Mass., Laura Battle of Rhinebeck, N.Y., and Thomas Battle of Belmont, Mass.; and eight grandchildren.

IN MEMORY



Dallas Ford Brown, 75, a retired FSO with USAID, died on Jan. 6 in Richmond, Va.

Mr. Brown, known as "Ford," was born in Greens Fork, Ind. He graduated from Greens Fork High School and earned a B.S. in business at Indiana University in 1954. Mr. Brown served in the Air Force ROTC in college, and afterward served in the U.S. Air Force, attaining the rank of captain. Following work as a certified public accountant in private industry, he joined USAID in 1959.

Mr. Brown's Foreign Service career took him and his family to Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Jordan, Cameroon and Morocco before he was assigned as controller to Cairo in 1975 — shortly after Egypt and the United States resumed diplomatic relations and USAID launched one of its largest programs ever. He later served in Washington in several positions, including as the Africa Bureau's controller. He was the youngest controller ever promoted into the Senior Foreign Service.

After retiring in 1983, he served as the chief financial management specialist for the Department of State Refugee Program for several years. He was also chief of party for a USAID-financed financial management development program in the Sahelian countries, and did other short-term work for the agency, usually in Africa. A stalwart friend and wise mentor to many USAID employees, he was an expert bridge player, a constructor of wonderful birdhouses and a philatelist.

When not posted overseas, the Browns resided in Washington, D.C., from 1959 until 2006, when they moved to Richmond, Va., to be near family.

Mr. Brown is survived by his wife, Lou Ann Rutherford Brown of Richmond, Va.; three children, Thomas

Brown of Universal City, Texas, Julie Woessner of Virginia Beach, Va., and Kay Swenson of Midlothian, Va.; eight grandchildren; and a sister, Linda Crabtree of Lafayette, Ind.

Memorial contributions may be made to the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation or the Indiana University Foundation Scholarship Fund.



Sylvia Grill Walsh Flenner, 83, a former Foreign Service staff officer and wife of retired FSO Robert H. Flenner, died on April 1, in San Antonio, Texas.

Mrs. Flenner was born on July 20, 1924, in New York City, the daughter of Esther Roepke and Saul Grill, who met on a ship while returning to the U.S. from Europe after World War I. Losing her mother in infancy, she was raised by her aunt/stepmother, Ellen Grill, and her grandmother Roepke. She was educated in New York and Washington, D.C., where she graduated from St. Roses. Her first job was in the State Department code room, from 1943 to 1946.

Mrs. Flenner began working for the Foreign Service as a secretary at the London Conference of Foreign Ministers at the end of World War II. She was then transferred to the consulate general in Munich, where she served for four years, and then to Berlin, for two years. Next, she was posted to Japan, where she served in the consulate in Yokohama for two years.

In 1957, she was assigned to Costa Rica, where she met Mr. Flenner, a second secretary. The couple married in 1958, and moved to Washington, D.C., where Ms. Flenner worked in the Department of State's passport and visa offices. Their son, Robert, was born in 1960. A year later, the family moved to Luanda, where the

Flenners worked in the U.S. consulate general for five years. In 1966, they returned to Washington, where Mr. Flenner worked at the State Department until he retired in 1968.

The Flenners moved to Castine, Maine, in 1968. There Mrs. Flenner assisted her husband in his new position as head of administration at the Maine Maritime Academy. In 1990, they both retired again and moved to downtown San Antonio, where they lived just off the River Walk.

Mrs. Flenner is survived by her husband; a son, Robert Lawrence Flenner and his wife, Patricia; a stepson, John Wareham Flenner; a brother, Robert B. Grill and his wife, Laura; two nephews, Robert and John; and a niece, Marisa.



Anne Jeanne Gurvin, 75, a retired USIA Senior Foreign Service officer, died on March 4 of complications of breast cancer at Asbury Methodist Village's Wilson Health Care Center in Gaithersburg, Md.

Ms. Gurvin was born in Rochester, Minn. She graduated from high school at age 16 and obtained a B.S. degree in English and American studies, with honors, from the University of Minnesota. She taught high school for two years in Minnesota before returning to the university to obtain an M.S. in information science and Spanish literature.

In 1957, she accepted an assignment as a regional library administrator with the U.S. Army Special Services in France. Based in Poitiers, she also covered American libraries in Tours, Nantes and Samur. During this period, she traveled throughout Europe and the Middle East. She enrolled in graduate courses at the University of Paris (Sorbonne) and then the University of Madrid, study-

IN MEMORY



ing French and Spanish literature and philosophy. In 1962, she returned to the U.S. and worked as an academician at the University of California, Berkeley.

In 1966, Ms. Gurvin was appointed to the U.S. Information Agency. Her first overseas posting was to Montevideo. After this four-year tour, she took a leave of absence to attend graduate school in Latin American studies at the University of Texas. Thereafter, she had overseas assignments in Buenos Aires, Stockholm, The Hague and Lima.

Her 30-year career as a cultural affairs officer featured a number of highlights, such as creating a consortium of Swedish publishers to bring 20 major American authors to discuss their work with the public, the Swedish Academy/Nobel Prize Committee and the media. In both Sweden and the Netherlands, she served as treasurer of the binational Fulbright boards. In The Hague, she doubled the annual Fulbright budget from Dutch and American private and public funding sources, linked five Dutch universities with new American partners and created three new prestigious Fulbright chairs. In Lima, she served as the proactive coordinator of a \$1 million program to stimulate sales of U.S. textbooks (in Spanish translation) to Peruvian universities. Shortly before her departure, she set up a new prize for an outstanding Peruvian university professor, seeded with personal funds.

During several tours at USIA headquarters in Washington, Ms. Gurvin served as chief of Binational Cultural Centers Management and as creative arts officer. In the latter capacity, she designed and directed grants programs worldwide that aimed at stimulating institution-to-institution linkages. She was appointed USIA coordinator of the Private

Sector Committee on the Arts.

She also had a Pearson assignment with the Council for International Urban Liaison and, at one point, her skill at fundraising was put to use as a loaned executive to the Combined Federal Campaign. There she led more than 300 volunteers in raising \$1.2 million for Washington charitable organizations.

In 1994, Ms. Gurvin was promoted to the Senior Foreign Service. That same year she was diagnosed with breast cancer. She left Lima to undergo surgery in the U.S. and continued to work at USIA's Office of the Counsel General while undergoing treatment. She was named a U.S. national judge for the 1995 and 1996 Carnegie Foundation competitions for "U.S. Professor of the Year," and was appointed to serve on several task forces by the American Council on Education. Her last position before retiring in 1996 was with the Foreign Affairs Grievance Board.

In retirement, Ms. Gurvin continued to create linkages among academic, arts, government and media institutions and leaders and to mentor others in their careers through her own consultancy. She was a member of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, and the Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, among others. She became a tenacious fighter against her own cancer and an advocate for breast cancer research and funding, contributing to several books on breast cancer therapy. Friends and colleagues remarked on her continued zest and her positive, upbeat worldview over 14 years, despite new and recurring cancers.

Ms. Gurvin was an avid reader and enjoyed intellectual discussions with a diverse network of contacts and friends. She also liked opera, the dramatic arts and travel, visiting more than 60 countries for work and plea-

sure during her lifetime. Her most recent trips were to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; she also attended a cooking school in Provence in 2006.

She is survived by three brothers and two sisters-in-law: Peter Gurvin and his wife, Jerusha, of Bethesda, Md.; George Gurvin of Arlington, Va.; and John Gurvin and his wife, Antoinette, of Burnsville, Minn.



Arthur Moore Handly, 79, a retired FSO with USAID, died on Jan. 23 at Champlain Valley Physicians Hospital in Plattsburgh, N.Y.

Mr. Handly was born in Malone, N.Y., on March 6, 1928, the son of Arthur W. and Ellen Handly. A 1946 graduate of Franklin Academy, he served in the U.S. Army in Japan, then attended Hamilton College and transferred to Saint Lawrence University, graduating in 1950. He earned a master's degree in public administration from Syracuse University, and pursued a career in state government that took him to Wisconsin and Oregon.

In 1962, Mr. Handly joined USAID. He served in Turkey for five years and, after a second stint at Syracuse University, went on to serve as mission director in Jordan, Pakistan, Tanzania and Egypt before retiring in 1987.

In retirement, Mr. Handly continued his commitment to service. He was a 4th-degree Knight of Columbus, a hospice volunteer and a driver for the elderly. An active member of the Plattsburgh Duplicate Bridge Club, he was also an avid golfer and loved to travel.

He is survived by his wife of 56 years, Anne Frenette Handly; four sons: Kevin and his wife, Piney, of Boston, Mass., Marshall and his wife, Carla, of Beverly, Mass., Brian and his

IN MEMORY



wife, Ginger, of Walnut Creek, Calif., Paul and his wife, Jackie, of Falls Church, Va.; and nine grandchildren.



Cynthia Eagles Hodgson, a former FS spouse and education officer in the Family Liaison Office, died on May 6 in Cornwall, Vt.

Born in Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y., she attended Master's School in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. After graduating from Centenary College, she worked as a model at Saks Fifth Avenue.

With her first husband, FSO Robin Porter, Mrs. Hodgson served at diplomatic posts in Manila, Port-au-Prince, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Moscow and Kiev. Between stints over-

seas, the family lived in Bethesda, Md.

Her many interests ranged from being a docent for the National Zoo and the National History Museum to volunteering for Maryland Fair Housing and Headstart D.C. and serving as an administrator at different times for the American League of Anglers, the American University Psychology Department, the Clean Water Fund, the Association for the Care of Children's Health and the Cardinal Spellman Philatelic Museum.

Mrs. Hodgson taught at the Haitian-American Institute, tutored blind Filipino high school students and conducted a series of English as a Second Language classes on educational TV in Manila. In Moscow, she taught

nursery school and presented a graduate seminar in contemporary American literature at the state university. In Kiev, she assisted in establishing the first U.S. consular presence in Ukraine. After her last overseas posting, she worked as the education officer for the State Department's Family Liaison Office, all the while raising her four children.

In 1988, she married Richard Hodgson. The couple moved to Cape Cod and enjoyed operating a bed and breakfast for 15 years. After serving as an educator for the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, she developed her own animal and environmental study program for elementary schools. She also opened a retail store, Creature



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IN MEMORY



Comforts, that specialized in animal-related products. In 2005, the Hodgsons moved to Cornwall, Vt., where she pursued her interest in music and indulged her love of nature, history and genealogy.

Friends remember Mrs. Hodgson as fun-loving, endlessly curious, gutsy and beautiful. Her final resting place will be at the Hodgson family plot in Dover, Mass. Her family would like to acknowledge the care and dedication of Hospice and the Wellspring Singers.

Mrs. Hodgson's earlier marriage to Robin Porter of Wickford, R.I., ended in divorce.

She was predeceased by her parents, Reginald and Edna Eagles, and her beloved brother, Harrison. She is survived by her husband of 20 years, Richard Hodgson; her four children: Carl Porter of Longmont, Colo., Christopher Porter of New York, N.Y., Sarah Bell of Peace Dale, R.I., and William Porter of Shoreham, Vt.; and four grandchildren, Lily and Rosy Bell, Christopher Porter and Beatrice Porter. She is also survived by two stepdaughters, Jenni Brady of Medfield, Mass., and Heather DePaola of Dover, Mass.; two stepgrandchildren, Zack Brady and Mckinlee DePaola; her brother, Sandy Eagles of LaVerne, Calif.; her sister, Joan Webb of Cortez, Fla.; and many nieces and nephews.

Gifts in her memory can be sent to Hospice Volunteer Services of Addison County, P.O. Box 772, Middlebury VT 05753, the San Francisco Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, or the National Wildlife Federation.



Barbara M. Johnson, 76, a retired Foreign Service consular officer, died from ovarian cancer on Feb. 2 at

Springhouse Assisted Living in Bethesda, Md., where she had resided for several months.

Born and raised in New Bedford, Mass., Ms. Johnson later attended Dillard University in New Orleans and Columbia University in New York City. She worked for Con Edison in New York City from 1955 to 1963.

In 1963, Ms. Johnson joined the Foreign Service. Her first overseas posting was to Bangkok. Subsequent assignments took her to Brussels, Copenhagen, Saigon, Port of Spain, Kinshasa, Fort-de-France, Lima, Freetown, Dar es Salaam, Hamilton and Accra. She returned to Washington, D.C., to retire in 1996.

Ms. Johnson's love of travel did not wane after retirement, and she continued to accept short, challenging When Actually Employed consular assignments from 1997 to 2002 in Accra, Jeddah, Bahrain, Sanaa, Amman, Sofia, Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

The tales from her many assignments could fill a book. Friends recall one memorable story from her time in Bukavu, a remote consulate in Zaire. She was called upon to courier mail on long and arduous trips over rough terrain from one African country to another. Longing for fresh fruit and vegetables, she would pay as much as \$10 for a single apple when she could find one. She often spoke of the natural beauty of Africa, a sad downside to which was the sight of beautiful elephants killed by poachers for their ivory.

Ms. Johnson had maintained a residence in Washington, D.C., since the 1970s, where she enjoyed getting together with friends and trying new or exotic cuisines. She also enjoyed playing golf and attending the symphony at the Kennedy Center. An avid walker, she explored many different areas of the city, often hiking all

the way to Arlington Cemetery from her home. She volunteered at Arena Stage and at the Washington Home, where she visited many patients and friends.

Although she did not own an animal at the time of her death, she adored her friends' dogs, horses, cats and exotic birds, spoiled them with treats, and never hesitated to pet-sit whenever asked.

Throughout her travels Ms. Johnson made many friends of all nationalities. She had godchildren in Africa, Denmark and the United States. FS colleagues recall Ms. Johnson as very efficient and competent, but also as a compassionate consular officer who mentored many young Foreign Service officers.

Although she leaves no immediate survivors, Ms. Johnson is remembered by the many friends whom she touched in very special ways.



Wallace Edward Keiderling, 77, a retired FSO with USIA, died of complications from a stroke and arteriosclerosis on April 9 in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

Born in Westfield, N.J., Mr. Keiderling served in the U.S. Army from 1948 to 1949. He graduated from Oklahoma State University in 1954 and received a master's degree from the University of Florida in 1962.

Mr. Keiderling was sent as a trainee to the Binational Center in Cochabamba in 1962 and became its director two years later. There he met his wife, the former Maria del Rosario "Charo" Soruco, whom he courted with rides on his bicycle. Colleagues recall his carting Lake Titicaca reed boats over the mountains to Cochabamba and playing "wallyball" and basketball with Mr. Keiderling during those years.

IN MEMORY



From 1966 to 1969, he was BNC director in Santo Domingo, where he is remembered for creating youth softball leagues and opening exhibit space for struggling Dominican artists. From there Mr. Keiderling was posted to Asuncion as BNC director from 1969 to 1972. There he organized a "musical train," which took Paraguayan musicians into the isolated interior of the country to perform.

Mr. Keiderling was commissioned as an FSO in 1973. His sole Washington tour, from 1973 to 1976, was as USIA's Wireless File reporter on Capitol Hill, where he covered Watergate and many other stories.

Posted to Quito as cultural affairs officer from 1976 to 1980, Mr.

Keiderling covered every inch of the country in his Volkswagen camper. Playing the balalaika, a stringed instrument of Russian folk origin, he made himself beloved of artists and musicians throughout the country. He was then assigned to Lisbon as CAO from 1980 to 1985, and to Rio de Janeiro as branch public affairs officer from 1985 to 1989. There he continued to work with the groups he loved: university professors and students, intellectuals and civic leaders. His last tour was as CAO in Bogota from 1989 to 1992, after which he retired and settled in Cochabamba.

Mr. Keiderling viewed retirement as an opportunity to travel again. He returned often to his other homes in the various countries in which he had

served, and was determined to visit the regions of the world he'd not yet seen. He visited southern Africa, Central Asia, Cuba, New Zealand and Australia, where he became the oldest registered backpacker at the age of 75.

He is survived by his wife, Charo, of Cochabamba, Bolivia, and his three children: Kelly, an FSO now posted to Chisinau, Casey and Keith.



Annyce Faye Hendricks Manch, 88, wife of the late FSO Martin Manch, died on April 5 in Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

A native of Anniston, Ala., Mrs. Manch was employed by the Navy in

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The November 2008 *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors.



FS authors who have had a book published in 2007 or 2008 that has not previously been featured in the roundup, are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder on the book and author, to:

Susan Maitra
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1800 N. Kent St., Suite 1250
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IN MEMORY



Washington, D.C., in 1941. There she met and married Martin (Marty) Manch, who joined the State Department in 1952 as an administrative officer, becoming an FSO in 1955. Mrs. Manch accompanied her husband in postings to Cairo, Athens and Washington, D.C.

In 1971, Mr. Manch retired and the couple settled in Fairhope, Ala. There Mrs. Manch was an active member of Fairhope United Methodist Church, the Thomas Hospital Auxiliary, Sundial Garden Club and Eastern Shore Woman's Club. She was also a member of the American Foreign Service Association and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired.

Following the death of her husband in 1995, Mrs. Manch moved from Fairhope to Fredericksburg, Va., to be near her grandchildren.

She is survived by four children: Maryann Irion and Jacqueline Manch of Fort Lauderdale, Fla.; Martin Manch IV and his wife Susan, of Fredericksburg, Va.; and William Manch and his wife Susan, of McLean, Va.; five grandchildren; and one great-grandchild. She also is survived by two sisters, Eunice Boozer of Selma, Ala., and Rosemary Doucette of Satellite Beach, Fla., and numerous nieces, nephews, other relatives and wonderful friends.

The family requests donations in her memory be made to HospiceCare of Southeast Florida, Inc., 309 SE 18th St., Fort Lauderdale FL 33316.



Joseph E. O'Mahony, 82, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov. 26, 2007, at his home in Bethesda, Md., after a long illness.

Mr. O'Mahony was born in Indianapolis, Ind., and grew up in Utica, N.Y., where he enjoyed hiking,

camping and fishing in the nearby Adirondacks. He was an Eagle Scout and an assistant Scoutmaster.

In 1943 he joined the Army, serving in combat for which he was awarded the Purple Heart and the Bronze Star.

Mr. O'Mahony joined the State Department in 1952, becoming an FSO in 1956. During a 32-year career, he served overseas in Seoul, Hong Kong, New Delhi, Santiago and Port of Spain. He retired in 1988.

He is survived by his wife, Merle, of Bethesda, Md.; two sons, Devin of Chevy Chase, Md., and Brian of Brewster, N.Y.; a daughter, Kerry Shea Dall, of Annapolis, Md.; a brother, Thomas P. O'Mahony of Burlington, Mass.; and five grandchildren.



David D. Newsom, 90, a retired FSO, three-time ambassador and former under secretary of State for political affairs, died on March 30 in Charlottesville, Va.

Mr. Newsom was born on Jan. 6, 1918, in Richmond, Calif. He received his B.A. degree in English from the University of California at Berkeley in 1938 and an M.S. degree in journalism from the Columbia University School of Journalism in 1940. At Columbia, he was the recipient of a Pulitzer Traveling Fellowship, which enabled him to visit Japan, China, the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), India, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil in 1940-1941.

Mr. Newsom worked as a reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* before joining the U.S. Navy in 1942. He was assigned to Naval Intelligence and was stationed in Hawaii during World War II. Upon his discharge from the Navy as a lieutenant in 1946, he and his wife, the former Jean Frances Craig, published the *Walnut*

Creek (California) *Courier-Journal*. He left the newspaper business to enter the Foreign Service in 1947.

As a career Foreign Service officer, he served in Karachi, Oslo and Baghdad before returning to Washington in 1955 to become officer-in-charge of Arabian Peninsula Affairs. In 1959, he attended the National War College and in 1960 was posted to London as first secretary (with responsibility for Middle East and Africa). From 1962 to 1965, he served in Washington as director of Northern African Affairs.

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson appointed him U.S. ambassador to Libya. He returned from that post in 1969 to serve as assistant secretary of State for African affairs. From 1973 to 1977 he served as U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, and was the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines from November 1977 to April 1978.

Ambassador Newsom was named under secretary of State for political affairs in 1978 and served in that position until February 1981, when he was appointed Secretary of State ad interim between the Carter and Reagan administrations. He retired from the Foreign Service with the rank of career minister in February 1981.

After retirement, Amb. Newsom became director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University. There, he also served as the Marshall B. Coyne Research Professor of Diplomacy in the School of Foreign Service. In the fall of 1986, he became the John Adams Fellow under the Fulbright program at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. In 1991, he inaugurated the Hugh Cumming Chair of International Relations at the University of Virginia. He retired in 1998, and resided in Charlottesville until his death.

Mr. Newsom is the author of sev-

IN MEMORY



eral books, including *Diplomacy Under a Foreign Flag: When Nations Break Relations* (Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1990), *The Soviet Brigade in Cuba* (Indiana University Press, 1987), *The Diplomacy of Human Rights* (University Press of America, 1986), *Diplomacy and the American Democracy* (Indiana University Press, 1988), and *The Imperial Mantle: The United States, Decolonization, and the Third World* (Indiana University Press, 2001). He also published numerous journal articles and was a regular columnist for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

In 1989, Amb. Newsom launched the *Diplomatic Record*, published annually by Westview Press for the

Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and edited it for two years. Prior to his death, he completed his memoirs, scheduled for publication in late 2008. In his own words, "During the period covered by this memoir (1918–2008), significant changes have taken place in the international scene. I have been a witness to most and a participant in many."

He was the recipient of numerous honors, including the Rockefeller Public Service Award, the State Department's Meritorious Service Award (1958), the Foreign Service Cup (1987) and the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award of the American Foreign Service Association (2000).

Amb. Newsom is survived by his

wife of 65 years, Jean; five children: John of Seattle, Wash., Daniel of Boston, Mass., Nancy of Geneva, Catherine of Philadelphia, Pa., and David K. of Potomac, Md.; and nine grandchildren.

Memorial contributions may be made to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037, or to the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Newsom Junior Fellowship in Diplomacy, 1316 36th Street NW, Washington DC 20007.



Richard Charles Schoonover, 70, a retired FSO with USIA, died on March 12 in Chapel Hill, N.C., after

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losing a battle with cancer.

Born in Sacramento, Calif., Mr. Schoonover received his undergraduate degree at the University of California, Riverside and did graduate studies at Berkeley.

Mr. Schoonover joined the Foreign Service in 1964. He was posted briefly to Kampala in 1965 and, later that year, transferred to Dar es Salaam. There he met Brenda Brown, whom he married in 1968. Mr. Schoonover went on to serve in Lagos, Tunis and Manila. By this time, Brenda Schoonover had joined the State Department, and the couple had subsequent tandem assignments in Colombo and Tunis, where Mr. Schoonover served as public affairs officer.

In 1990, Mr. Schoonover was selected to participate in the 33rd Class of the Senior Seminar, followed by a posting to the U.S. mission to NATO in Brussels. After retiring in 1996, he accompanied Mrs. Schoonover on her tours as U.S. ambassador to Togo, as diplomat-in-residence in Chapel Hill, N.C., and on her return to Brussels. Chapel Hill has been the Schoonovers' permanent residence since 2004.

Mr. Schoonover was active in numerous internationally affiliated organizations. He was co-chair of the Carolina Friends of the Foreign Service in Chapel Hill and served on the board of directors of the online magazine, *American Diplomacy*.

An avid lifetime golfer, he was a member of the Kenwood Golf and Country Club in Bethesda, Md. He was a single-digit handicapper and enjoyed playing challenging courses wherever in the world he found himself. While living in Chapel Hill, he played golf regularly, both locally and in the region.

Mr. Schoonover was also an exquisite chef. Friends recall the cou-

ple's excellent entertaining: going to one of their parties guaranteed an absorbing time with excellent food and fascinating company.

Remembered as a vibrant, intelligent and witty individual, who was a true gentleman, Mr. Schoonover made important contributions to his community both in life and in death. His remains have been donated to the University of North Carolina School of Medicine. While his body will go to benefit science, his spirit lives on in the hearts of family and friends.

Mr. Schoonover's first marriage, to the former Virginia Santee, ended in divorce. He is survived by his wife of 40 years, Brenda of Chapel Hill, N.C.; a son, Peter of Los Angeles, Calif.; two daughters, Elizabeth Wrightson of Los Angeles, Calif., and Stephanie Schoonover of Austin, Texas; and a grandson, Thomas.

Memorial contributions may be to the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service (www.slfoundation.org/), or to Carolina for Kibera (www.cfk.unc.edu).



Theodore A. Wahl, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on April 19 in Media, Pa., following a series of strokes.

Born in Cooks Falls, N.Y., in 1922, Mr. Wahl graduated from Colgate University in 1942 and served in the Army Air Corps in China during World War II, attaining the rank of captain. After the war, he received a master's degree from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, then joined the Foreign Service in 1947.

During a 33-year diplomatic career, Mr. Wahl served in consulates in Tsingtao and Chungking, and was then posted to Oslo. For many years he served in the Middle East in

Dhahran, Istanbul, Beirut and Riyadh. In Washington, he served in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs from 1957 to 1960 and on the Israel and Arab-Israel affairs desk from 1969 to 1971. He was then posted to Manila from 1971 to 1974.

After retiring from the State Department in 1980, Mr. Wahl worked briefly as a consultant for the Multinational Force and Observers, the Sinai peacekeeping force, before settling first in Swarthmore and, later, Media, Pa.

His first wife, Sarah Martin Wahl, whom he married in Tsingtao in 1948, died in 1978. He remarried in 1981 and his second wife, Tania Cosman Wahl, died in 2006.

Mr. Wahl leaves his three children, Martin Wahl of Corte Madera, Calif., Russell Wahl of Pocatello, Idaho, and Harriet Wahl Cowper of Tucson, Ariz.; six grandchildren; four stepchildren; and two step-grandchildren. ■



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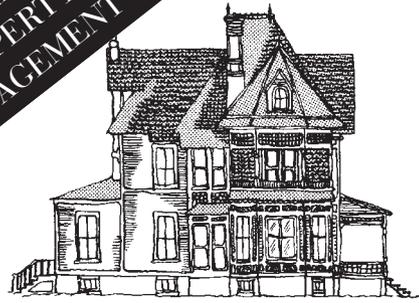
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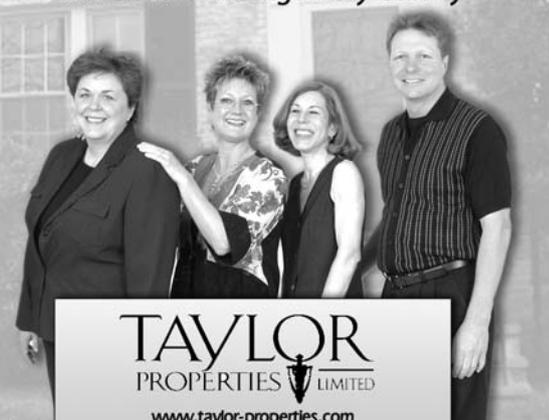
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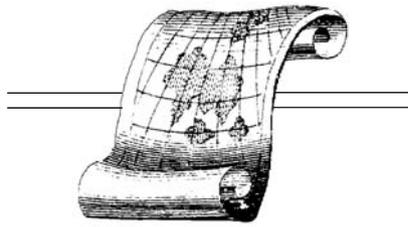
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REFLECTIONS

On a Hilltop in Venezuela

BY AMANDA ECKERSON

Seven months ago, I was living in a barrio of Caracas, on top of the last green hill in the city. I was living in what any outside observer would call the slums: the water comes just two days a week, the kids play baseball in the street with bottle caps, families live three generations to a concrete room, and salsa and techno versions of 1980s American rock songs blare from every house at every hour of every day.

Embassy Caracas also sits on top of a hill. It is on the opposite side of the city, however, in the richest neighborhood in Caracas. Before this trip, I had done most of my traveling with the advantage (or so I thought) of a diplomatic passport. With a father who works for USAID, I was raised overseas with an interest in international development and a consciousness of other cultures. This time, however, I realized that while a diplomatic passport may get one through lines more quickly, it also tends to keep its bearer separated from the people and realities they are there to understand.

The gulf between our two mountaintops was real. In a brief visit to the embassy, I met with a friend of my father. It was a week before last December's referendum on constitutional reforms, and I had been immersed in reading and debating the proposals with local friends at the bodega. I was unprepared for how completely our two perspectives clashed.

The only thing I knew for certain was that my father's friend had never been to my hilltop, and no one I was living with could afford the taxi required to climb the hill to his.



My father's friend was against the reforms because they were undemocratic; I was for them because they were democratic. He believed most Venezuelans hated Chavez; I hadn't met one who didn't support him. He believed the milk shortage that preceded the election was the fault of the government controlling vital substances; I had been told that powdered milk was controlled by the oligarchy, and ran out before every major vote or election to make people uneasy.

The only thing I knew for certain after our conversation was that my father's friend had never been to my hilltop, and no one I was living with could afford the taxi required to climb to his. The disparities in our facts and our opinions were vast, and I wondered where the truth lay.

I was acutely aware that there were dangerous misconceptions on both

sides. I felt, however, that if Americans could see and hear the things Venezuelans are fighting for when they back Chavez, they would find them eerily familiar. Venezuelans want the dignity and respect of being a sovereign nation. They want jobs, access to health care and the pride of a strong military. They want things that we want ourselves and should therefore be supporting in other nations as they develop — even if they sometimes look different than ours.

Observing America from the other hilltop was sobering. Like our embassy, it was isolated, not welcoming, and catered only to those with the money and means to reach it. If elitism is what our foreign policy is striving to convey, then it is perfectly positioned. I couldn't help thinking, however, that in terms of our national interest, and our cherished American ideals, we should be forming long-term, sustainable ties with people and nations based on shared values.

If we want to understand the common bonds we share with Venezuelans, we don't need to move mountains. Only mountaintops. ■

Amanda Eckerson graduated with a B.A. in history from Yale University in 2007. She grew up in Haiti and Ethiopia, and will be returning to Venezuela on a Fulbright Scholarship next year to research the use of performance in political struggles in Caracas.

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